College Series of Greek Authors

Lucian

Selected Writings

Francis Greenleaf Allinson

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COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS

EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, EDITORS
CHARLES BURTON GULICK, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Lucianus, Samosatensis

LUCIAN

SELECTED WRITINGS

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

The text used as a basis for these selections from Lucian is that of Jacobitz (Teubner, 1896); but many changes have been admitted, as noted in the Appendix. Fritzsche's bold but often persuasive suggestions have been carefully weighed, and the critical edition of Sommerbrodt (supplemented by that of Levi for the *Peregrinus*) has been used throughout. The orthography has been allowed to reflect the uncertainty of the Mss.; e.g. *εἰς* and *ἐς*, *ξυν-* and *συν-*. It is hard to prove that Lucian would have written *σῴζω* or *οἰκτίρω*, and the iota subscript has been (perhaps arbitrarily) retained in *λῃστήριον* and *φῄς*.

Repeated experience has convinced the editor that Lucian has a place in the college curriculum. The Introduction states (p. xxix) some of the reasons for this claim, and is also intended to call attention to the continuity of Lucian's influence, especially from the time of the Reformation. The Conspectus of Lucian's Greek (pp. xxxiv–xlii) gives in compact form some of his peculiarities and mannerisms. It is intended as a caution to the student against certain divergences from the Attic, and, with the account of the Common Dialect, may at the same time lay emphasis on the continuity of the Greek language from Homer to the present day. The brief special Introductions to each selection are intended to secure a sympathetic reading of the individual pieces rather than to serve as summaries of their contents.

While in these selections some favorites will be missed by teachers of Lucian, others, less familiar or unedited in English textbooks, may offer a welcome variety and give a more adequate idea of Lucian's versatility. Supplementary reading from the Greek

text is strongly to be recommended — especially of the *Gallus*, *Icaromenippus*, *Timon*, *Bis Accusatus*, *Philopseudes*, *Cataplus*, *Juppiter Confutatus*, *Juppiter Tragoedus*, *Symposium*, *Hermotimus*, and *De Mercede Conductis.*

My most cordial acknowledgment is due to Professor Gulick both for his care of all kinds in reading the proofs and also for numerous criticisms and suggestions incorporated in text and notes; nor can I refrain from expressing my admiration of the keen scholarship that has accompanied the exacting scrutiny of the proofs at the Athenaeum Press itself. I wish also to express my hearty thanks to my colleagues Professors Manatt, A. G. Harkness, Poland, and Everett for suggestions and advice given upon various parts of the book, and especially to Dean A. C. Emery of the Women's College in Brown University for criticism and help throughout the whole of the book.

I have made repeated reference in the notes to Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve's published contributions to the understanding of Lucian, but I have been unable to acknowledge in detail my indebtedness to his interpretation of Lucian in the lecture-room many years ago. If I could hope that the spirit of his interpretation had not been wholly lost or distorted in my effort to transmit it to other students, I should gratefully dedicate this book to a teacher whose spoken words have been only reinforced by the lapse of years.

PROVIDENCE, July, 1905 FRANCIS G. ALLINSON

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INTRODUCTION

LIFE AND TIMES OF LUCIAN

1. *Antiquity and the Present.*—The setting for Lucian, who lived in the second century of our era, is the "Greek World under Roman Sway" or, rather, the Roman world under Greek sway; for the Greek language, religion, and philosophies were still[1] encroaching upon both Rome herself and her remote colonies.

Lucian confines himself, however, neither to the portrayal of his contemporaries nor to futile clutching at unreal ghosts on the asphodel meadow of antiquity. He is essentially modern, but modern in a good sense. He includes the present but does not exclude the past. In so far as his Syrian superficiality and his cynical pessimism will permit, he is good for the round trip between *now* and *then* and "all the way from Delos up to Limerick and back." This Syrian showman arranges side by side his Homer and his dilapidated Zeus, his shop-worn Apollo and the rest of the Olympic troupe; unlocks a choice side-show of the makers and lovers of lies; exhibits the vulgar book collector; turns on the footlights of burning fagots upon Peregrinus the patricide, renegade Christian, and cynic charlatan; and shows us Alexander the false prophet with his oracular serpent newly hatched from a gold-getting goose egg. Heroes and harlots, philosophers and frauds, sit cheek by jowl while ever and anon Charon as end-man, as "Bones," rattles out a castanet accompaniment on his naked shins.

[1] Cf. Horace *Epist.* 2, 1, 156:

> Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio.

2. The Age of the Antonines[1] is full of human interest. It contains antiquity dormant — but sleeping fair as Endymion — modernity blatant, and the future germinant. The patriarchal government endowed university professorships[2] in the colonies; a littérateur might even be rewarded with a government post.[3] Athens, under the beneficent Herodes Atticus, was reaping a rich aftermath of Atticism. But we see the heart's blood coagulate, the outlying members mortify. Material power centred at Rome. The attitude towards literature, philosophy, religion, was very catholic, was superciliously tolerant. To the spoiled children of the imperial circus all times and places might well bring their tribute for languid inspection or temporary enthusiasm. The *Graeculus* might give his parlor lectures and be rewarded as Keeper of My Lady's Lap-dog;[4] Stoic, Peripatetic, Academic, and Epicurean might contend at will, while the Sceptic doubted all and the Cynic was allowed to sneer even at the Emperor. Religious inventiveness was rife. New patterns were still offered and richly-colored Oriental fabrics — like the mysteries of Mithra[5] — were strewed upon the brick pavement of the old Roman religion, or here and there on the thin coating of Greek marble. But it was not all sham. Juvenal, to be sure, was dead, and Fronto's learned tastelessness could infuse no literary savor into the imperial broth; a Syrian must needs come and bring with him at least a pinch of Attic salt.[6] But in philosophy Marcus Aurelius brought sweetness, if not light; and as for religion, the reaction against the wide-spread atheism of the first century issued in vain though sincere attempts to galvanize into hectic life the ghosts of old creeds, or else degenerated into novel and grovelling superstitions; while beneath the surface Christianity with an ever increasing undertow was drawing here and there many a one, unobserved,

[1] Cf. W. W. Capes, *The Age of the Antonines*, and Martha, *Les Moralistes sous l'Empire romain;* for Lucian see espec. the latter, pp. 333 ff.

[2] Cf. *Eun.* 3. [3] Cf. *Apol.* 12. [4] Cf. *Mer. Cond.* 34.

[5] For the duel between Mithraism and occidental ethics see *The Mysteries of Mithra*, by Franz Cumont (tr. by T. J. McCormack, 1903).

[6] See *Zeux.* 2; *Prom. in Verbis* 3.

into the wide ocean of common brotherhood that Lucian sought in vain, or found only in the *liberté, égalité, et fraternité* of a Menippus in Hades.

It is not hard to understand that the same age could exhibit both the purity of the imperial Stoicism and the superstitions, the mental and moral degradation, that meet us on every hand — as in Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet*, *The Lie-Fancier*, *The Life's-End of Peregrinus*, or *The Banquet*. To the pure all things are pure. The all-pervading philosophy was ethical. The moral dogmas were held to be infallible by each sect. Marcus Aurelius could incarnate an ethical system; but when the vulgar claimed for themselves the virtues of this philosophy, it first seemed, and then soon became, hypocrisy; the disease spread, and Lucian's high commission was made out for him by Lady Philosophy herself:[1] "Go unto all men, crown the true and brand the false." Alas for the professional censor! Lucian found scant use for crowns, found his philanthropy wither from lack of use, while abundant practice made him an expert hater of braggarts and cheats, liars and all vain persons puffed up in their own conceit.

3. *Life.* — About Lucian's life his contemporaries and later writers tell us little or nothing that is tangible. His own allusions, direct or indirect, furnish us with almost all that we know. Fortunately this is sufficient to enable us to appreciate him if not to gratify our curiosity. He was born probably about 120[2] A.D. in Samosata, on the Euphrates. This was the capital of the Syrian province of Commagene and a town not without importance as a commercial deversorium between the Orient and Rome. Greek influence no doubt still lingered from the time of its occupancy by Macedonian kings,[3] and Roman sway had extended intermittently[4] through the

[1] *Pisc.* 52.

[2] Earlier, if born under Trajan († 117) as Suidas asserts: γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Croiset (p. 52) argues that the *Hermotimus* was written in 165. This, with the allusion in *Hermot.* 13 to Lucian's age, would put his birth in 125.

[3] Cf. infra § 11.

[4] See Tac. *Ann.* 2. 56 with Dion Cass. 59, 8. It was definitely made a Roman province by Vespasian. Cf. Suet. *Vespasian* 8.

century preceding Lucian's birth, but the people remained Syrian and retained their native versatility.

Lucian's Samosatan parents were poor.[1] He was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, a stone-cutter and statuary combined. This was due both to family tradition and to his skill in fashioning little statuettes from the wax scraped from his school tablets. His career in his uncle's studio was bitter and brief. A new start in life was inevitable. But it is significant that the plastic trait in Lucian's literary style cropped out thus early in this kindred form. Still speaking Syrian and all but dressed as an Oriental, poor in purse, but rich in provincial crudities, he left home like many another lad,[2] ancient and modern, and began his *Wanderjahre.* We can only guess at his itinerary.[3] He wandered about Ionia ripening his ambition and pruning his still barbaric speech. He caught at least the spirit of the famous rhetorical schools at Ephesus and Smyrna. He may even have managed to pay the humbler fees exacted by some pupil or successor of the noted Polemon or of Scopelian, the teacher of Herodes Atticus. Possibly he now began his career as a lawyer at Antioch, but, if we are to believe Suidas,[4] made a failure of it and turned his attention wholly to rhetoric and the composition of show speeches. The *Bis Accusatus* is the best autobiographical résumé of what seemed to Lucian momentous in his own career. It should be read in full.[5] In it we learn[6] that he made a lucky match[7] with a rich lady

[1] See *Somn.*, with Introd. p. 1. Also cf. *Alex.* 56, where he is found dutifully bringing his old father back to Athens to share the benefits of his career.

[2] *Bis Acc.* 27, *κομιδῇ μειράκιον.*

[3] Cf. *Bis Acc.* 27.

[4] Suidas s.v. *ἦν δὲ οὗτος τὸ πρὶν δικήγορος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας. δυσπραγήσας δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἐπὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν ἐπετράπη, καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ ἄπειρα.* Croiset (p. 18) would assign all this to so late a period as 163. Possibly he never formally abandoned the law; possibly the double meaning of *λογογράφος* may cause the confusion.

[5] See Introd. to *Somn.* p. 3, note 2, and cf. *Pisc.* 25.

[6] *Bis Acc.* 27.

[7] This is the only marriage of which Lucian gives us definite information! In *Alex.* 56, however, there is an ambiguous reference to his family, *τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς*, and in *Eun.* 13 there is reference to a son born, it is to be hoped, of no such questionable a character as this Dame Rhetoric of the *Bis Acc.*

named Rhetoric, who complains that she bought him fine clothes and taught him fine Greek; taught him, too, how to manage like a gentleman the folds of his robes and his flowing eloquence, and that finally, to please him, she engaged passage and took him abroad and with him travelled everywhere — to Italy, to Transalpine Gaul and back again — and raised him to fame and fortune only to be basely deserted by this deceitful Syrian for a boon companion named Dialogus. This latter in his turn complains that he was so hard put to it by the caracoles of his new yoke-mate that he seemed, even in his own eyes, a hybrid hippocentaur who could neither "pace in prose nor mount on metre."[1]

This is substantially what we know of Lucian's earlier years, but this vague outline is incised by many an allusion. His tour of the provinces was very successful. He made a prolonged stay in Gaul, where he seems to have been for a while the incumbent of one of the imperial professorships — he became, in short, one of the "high-priced sophists."[2] Celtic, indeed, was not one of his accomplishments, for we find him seeking information about the Celtic Heracles from a native philosopher "who spoke Greek accurately."[3] Nor are we bound to assume that he knew Latin more intimately than the ordinary Greek resident in Rome. He was, however, repeatedly in Italy; in the *Nigrinus* he compares at length Rome and Athens; here and there[4] in his writings he makes apparent reference to life in the great city. Above all, his parenthetical remark — "If I know any Latin at all, as I think I do!"[5] — points to a fluent, if superficial, knowledge of the language.

[1] *Bis Acc.* 33 *οὔτε πεζός εἰμι οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν μέτρων βέβηκα.*

[2] In *Apol.* 15, he writes to his friend Sabinus: "You knew, in days gone by, of my being in receipt of a very high salary *ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ δημοσίᾳ . . . ὁπότε κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἑσπερίου Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅμα ἐπιὼν ἐνέτυχες ἡμῖν τοῖς μεγαλομίσθοις τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐναριθμουμένοις.*"

[3] Cf. *Herc.* 4 Κελτὸς δέ τις . . . ἀκριβῶς Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ἀφιείς, φιλόσοφος, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐπιχώρια.

[4] E.g. in the *Charon; The Led Philosophers* (passim); *Hist. Conscr.* 21; etc. Croiset (p. 13 and 14), however, thinks qu'il ne parlait que grec.

[5] *Laps. in Sal.* 13 *εἴ τι κἀγὼ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φωνῆς ἐπαΐω.*

From Gaul and Italy he apparently returned to Ionia by way of Athens; and in the first years of the rule of Marcus Aurelius he was again in Syria, and at Antioch in 162 or 163 saw Lucius Verus, the emperor-coadjutor. To this time is to be referred his visit to his native place,[1] after which[2] he makes, as we may suppose, his final emigration to Athens, taking with him his father and his family. On this same trip took place, perhaps, the interview with the arch-impostor Alexander of Abonuteichos, and Lucian's energetic but impolitic exposure of the false prophet nearly cost him his life.

In 165 he was at Corinth, and also at the Olympic games for the third or the fourth time, according as we assume that the self-immolation of Peregrinus near Olympia took place this year or in 169.[3] After this he apparently made Athens his headquarters, and we must refer to this period his best literary activity.

Thus, at the age of forty,[4] Lucian found himself possessed of no little fame. We may, indeed, be led to exaggerate this fame from what he says of himself.[5] The Roman post-roads re-echoed the beat of many a fast-flying hoof, but reputations and news spread slowly,[6] and Lucian must have been his own chief means of advertisement[7] as he travelled back and forth from Syria to Gaul, from Rome to Ionia, from Athens to Macedonia, delivering his introductory and epideictic speeches. As travelling rhetorician and show-lecturer he was an unqualified success as things went in the second century. As occasion demanded, he could deliver with equal zest "The Laudation of a Picture-Gallery," an "Encomium on a Fly," or "The Suit of Sigma versus Tau."[8] When he revisits[9] his native Samosata, it is as a well-to-do and famous man to display, with pardonable and open vanity, his foreign laurels to his former townsfolk.

[1] See Introd. to *Somn.* p. 1.

[2] See Croiset (p. 18) for argument referring this to the year 164.

[3] See Introd. to *Peregr.* p. 206.

[4] Cf. *Hermot.* 13; *Bis Acc.* 32.

[5] E.g. *Somn.* (q.v.).

[6] E.g. the knowledge of Christianity.

[7] Cf. the προλαλιά *Herod.* 2.

[8] Cf. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, 637, for "bagatelle" orations of Lysias like *The Defense of the Dog*; *On the Cruet-Stand*, etc. Also cf. Introd. to *Somn.* p. 1.

[9] See *Somn.* sub fin.

But now comes the crisis of his career. He turns in contempt from rhetoric — and perhaps an intermittent practice of the law — "tired of the shifting business of the turbulent forum and the cloying applause of the masses, to take his pleasure in calm and quiet intercourse with Dialogue either in the Academy or in the Lyceum."[1] This was Lucian's rebirth. It is the principal event in his life. In the development of the Satiric Dialogue he found his true career as literary artist. It was an intellectual and moral emancipation. The flowery fetters of Rhetoric fell off;[2] he ceased to coquet with philosophy.[3] The artist remained.

4. *Attitude towards Philosophy.* — Lucian's attitude towards philosophy is not to be summed up in a word.[4] But it is safe to say that to him philosophy was pre-eminently an ethical system. Hence he missed or misapplied the great inheritance of speculative thought and busied himself with the unworthy representatives of the schools. He had frequented the kennels of the Cynics, had sat in the Porch with contemptuous nose in air, had held converse in the Academy and the Lyceum. He did try[5] to rise to the Platonic ideals and to give respectful tribute to Aristotle. His praise was genuine but nugatory. For the sake of Plato the artist he could put up with the vagaries of the philosopher, but when unworthy representatives infringed upon the recognized moral code, he had in reserve no loyalty to a speculative system. Some practical system of ethics, however, was a matter of course; and, constitutionally incapable as he was of appreciating the higher truths of Stoicism, it was but natural that he should turn from the unkempt coarseness of Cynicism to Epicureanism when fortune smiled and optimism saw pleasure as the summum bonum to be had for the asking.

But Lucian's dalliance with Epicureanism did not result in any relaxing of effort. To the period that follows we owe his best

[1] Cf. *Bis Acc.* 32 entire.

[2] See Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, p. 308, on his *Complete Rhetorician.*

[3] Cf. *Hermot.*, esp. sub fin., and the autobiographical *Icaromenippus.*

[4] See Introd. to *Vit. Auct.* p. 91. See also Helm's three articles *Lucian und die Philosophenschulen*, Neue Jahrb. 1902.

[5] See *Pisc.* 22 and 6.

productions. And they are numerous. Rich and successful he wrote for many years. In his old age, however, — just when, we do not know — we find him again, either by reason of pecuniary reverses or from a restless desire for increasing his fame, turned into a circuit show-lecturer and in his earlier manner suing for public favor through declamations and readings. The curtain falls leaving him installed as a government official[1] in Egypt with a large salary[2] drawn from the imperial treasury. We infer[3] that he died under the emperor Commodus or later under Septimius Severus. Suidas tells us, "He was killed, it is said, by dogs, after that he had been exceeding mad against the truth. For in his life of Peregrinus he attacks Christianity and, all guilt-stained as he is, blasphemes the Christ himself. Wherefore at this present he has paid fitting penalty for this madness and in the time to come shall be joint heir with Satan of the fire everlasting."

These amiable statements of the lexicographer we have no means of verifying. The manner of Lucian's death is as unknown as is the nature of his reception before Aeacus, the judge whom he had so jauntily portrayed. Suidas's "dogs," indeed, may be but the hungry ghosts of the mythical pack by which, as the story has it, Euripides, another free-thinker, was torn to pieces. But they also suggest[4] the dog-philosophers, the Cynics, whom Lucian had satirized so mercilessly. This much, at least, may be conceded. Had they been allowed their desire around the pyre at Harpina[5] they would have left unpicked for their cousin Cerberus never a bone of this scoffing spectator of the martyrdom of their saint Peregrinus.

When fortune fails and "life runs on the lees" Lucian's Epicureanism yields to the agnosticism that all along is his underlying mood.[6] If he stopped short of utter scepticism it was due to his

[1] Cf. *Apol.* 12; Lucian here dilates on the quality and the quantity of his official duties as District Attorney, General Inspector, and Keeper of the Archives.

[2] Ibid. ὁ μισθὸς . . . πολυτάλαντος.

[3] He makes no mention of later events, but if he died before 192 he might have been only seventy-six even if (cf. Suidas s.v. Λουκιανός) he was born under Trajan († 117).

[4] A stock joke in Lucian, cf. *D. Mort.* 2, 1.

[5] Scene of the self-immolation of the Cynic, cf. *Peregr.* 35.

[6] Cf. e.g. *Hermot.* and *Icar.*

practical sense which was ever in revolt against dogmatic formulae, Pyrrhonic scepticism included.[1]

5. *Attitude towards Christianity.* — What Lucian has to say directly about the Christians may be read in his *Life's-End of Peregrinus.*[2] Suidas's words, just quoted, represent the complete, but not inexplicable, misunderstanding of Lucian's attitude that had been handed down by some of the Christian fathers. As a matter of fact, his words contain nothing but incidental praise for the conduct of the early Christians, mixed with patronizing pity for their simplicity and credulity. He might appreciate their ethical purity, as revealed in concrete cases, but he understood the height and depth of the Christian creed as little as he could unlock Plato's spirit-world and behold the beatific vision. On Lucian's shield was writ large the device, νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν.[3]

6. *Style.* — Lucian's style[4] is the fulcrum of his artistic effort. His Atticizing, his choice of words, his subordinating of florid rhetoric, all led up to the perfection of his Attic style, which was his ideal, his life's ambition.[5] And he succeeded.[6] His versatility was great. Like his neighbor from Cilicia, he was by nature equipped to be all things to all men. He slips off his oriental pajamas to masquerade with glee in the many coats of many colors hanging in the wardrobe of the imperial theatre. The lawyer's toga, the Cynic's shirt, and the professor's robe are tried and discarded. He becomes a Hellene for Hellenists of all time, yet remains a Syrian to the end. He flew like a bee[7] to all flowers.

[1] At the end of the *Vit. Auct.* (see Introd. to *Vit. Auct.* p. 91), for example, he treats Pyrrho no better than the rest; and, agnostic though he was, he would hardly have welcomed into his pharmacopoeia a modern narcotic for materialism like Spencer's formula "the Unknowable."

[2] See Introd. to *V. H.* p. 55 for other supposed slurs upon Christianity.

[3] Cf. *Hermot.* 47. As Goethe makes Faust think over "was der Weise spricht," so Lycinus here quotes this as the saying "τινὸς τῶν σοφῶν."

[4] For his Greek itself see below, § 10.

[5] Cf. *Prom. in Verbis* 3 and *Zeux.* 2, etc.

[6] E.g. Schmid, *Atticismus* I, 428, can call him "einer der genialsten Stilisten aller Zeiten," and adds: "Keiner (among the Atticists) hat die Anmut von Lucian auch nur von ferne erreicht."

[7] Cf. *Pisc.* 6.

From some he drew honey; from some, gall; from others, nothing. He was rhetorician and lawyer, writer of romance and fantasy, lampooner and satirist; critic of historians and philosophers, but neither historian nor philosopher himself. He was art-critic, and himself above all an artist who could mould the unpromising "Common Greek" — ἡ κοινή — into plastic models of ephemeral wax, or go on to execute, in Pentelic marble and grim bronze, types and portraits now of winning grace, now quizzical or leering or abhorrent, but always real. It is his clear and well-trimmed style that has done honor to him. It was at once the child and the companion of his talent. Without it he would have lost his clue. It is one of the convincing, though delicate, criteria in dividing the spurious from the genuine.[1] "Il a vraiment," to quote from Croiset's excellent characterization, "le pouvoir de créer : tout s'anime et se meut sous sa main; les mots dont il use prennent un air à eux, sa phrase a une physionomie, son œuvre, petite ou grande, une individualité." Thus we have an additional chance to recognize as spurious a painting even with his signature falsely attached. This is the more helpful because with his external changes Lucian's views on men and things shifted, as we have seen, with bewildering facility. About his best writings one can hardly be uncertain, but the question does arise about others whether they belong to his extreme youth or extreme age or fall outside into the limbo of the spurious.

7. *Writings.* — Of the eighty-two pieces ascribed to Lucian at least sixty are pretty certainly genuine, though thirty-four have been called in question by one and another editor.[2]

[1] Sommerbrodt, *Ausgew. Schr.*, p. xviii, says that everything falls under suspicion, as not by Lucian, "was ohne Anschaulichkeit und Lebendigkeit, ohne Schärfe und Klarheit, ohne Witz und Salz, Alles, was im Ausdruck ungelenk, unverbunden, unrhythmisch ist."

[2] Of the twenty-two which Sommerbrodt excludes we may well accept as genuine the *De Luctu* and the *Hesiodus*, probably also the *De Dea Syria* (cf. Croiset, pp. 63 and 204; Allinson, *A.J.P.* VII, 206; Bolderman, *Studia Lucianea*; Smyth, *Greek Dialects* (Ionic), p. 116; and Penick, *Notes on Lucian's Syrian Goddess*) and *De Domo*, and probably *Toxaris* and the *Demonax*. Some of the *Epigrammata* may also have been written by Lucian.

It is hard to make a brief but really representative selection from Lucian's best works.[1]

The προλαλιαί, or prefatory chats,[2] are represented in this collection by the *Somnium*, though, amongst others, the *Suit of Sigma versus Tau* might have been preferred as showing his fertile fancy, his art that can extract fun from phonetics and observe with due solemnity the lawyer's lingo and the set forms of the orator. The *Somnium*, however, also serves the double purpose of giving us a peep at the "Passing of the Rhetorician Lucian" and of furnishing us with his autobiography to his fortieth year.[3]

It is hard to exclude any of his satiric dialogues. The *Timon* usually takes a front rank, but the *Charon*, we think, occupies a far higher place as a drama of life. Still more than the *Timon*, the exclusion of the incomparable *Cock* from our menu is a loss to which we cannot be reconciled even by the belated fish-course in the *Piscator*, with its spicy entrée, the *Vitarum Auctio*. Even better than by these two, Lucian's attitude to philosophy could have been illustrated by the *Icaromenippus*. In this his Aristophanic daring is at its best, and nowhere else is his wit more sparkling, or his mockery of the dilapidated gods more scathing — not even in the two bitter pieces *Juppiter Tragoedus* and *Juppiter Confutatus*.

The *Icaromenippus*, with careless superficiality, hits off the more obvious peculiarities of the schools, Democritus, Anaxagoras, the Eleatics, etc., in no historical order but with an assumed completeness — it is Lucian's saunter along the Greek "Philosophenweg." But Lucian's longest and in some respects his most interesting work, the *Hermotimus, or the Sects*, gives his serious deliverance on philosophy, or, more strictly, upon the systems of ethics. In form it is an undisguised reflection of Plato. It is Lucian's magnum opus, and is, in one sense, his most conspicuous failure. Attempting serious dialogue, he either lectures or answers himself back in falsetto like a marionette-exhibitor. We may be

[1] See Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, pp. 291–351, for the most vivid exhibit of Lucian's brilliant kaleidoscope. [2] See Introd. to *Somn.*

[3] For the superior claims of the *Bis Acc.* see above, p. x.

tempted to say the same of the Platonized Socrates, but the *Republic* of Plato is constructive: it rears an ideal, a lofty dwelling-place not made with hands,[1] while Lucian uproots the very foundations. It is his "Confession of Unfaith." The pupil Hermotimus, who has been painfully working the stony tract of Stoicism these forty years (he is now sixty[2]) is hooked by Lycinus and played like a lusty trout, only to give in at last, and in effect exclaims:

> (Ich) sehe, daß wir nichts wissen können!
> Das will mir schier das Herz verbrennen.[3]

But it is not simply the Stoics that are weighed and found wanting. Lucian uses them as *corpus vile* with especial delight, but assures the now[4] disenchanted Hermotimus that κοινὸς ἐπὶ πάντας ὁ λόγος — neither Jew nor Gentile, Stoic churchman nor Cynic dissenter, can guide you up the hill of virtue. He encamps ostentatiously by the River of Indifference, whose elusive water no vessel can contain.[5]

Two other pieces, directed against the philosophers, give Lucian in his most uncontrolled humor. The *Symposium* gathers together at a wedding-feast representatives of all creeds (with two Stoics for good measure) to give us the most incredible situations — jealousy and lust, wrangling, vituperation, blood and blows. But it is incomparable for skill in narration and dramatic suggestion. The mere naming over and arrangement of the guests, men reclining, women seated, and the bride closely veiled; the doctor's story of his insane patient; the letter from the uninvited philosopher; the contest between a waiter and guest over a pullet, as over the corpse of Patroclus; the boxing-match between the clown and the Cynic; the menu; and the final mêlée, judiciously veiled by overturning the lamp-stand, — all yield an interest that never flags.

[1] Cf. *Rep.* 9, 592 B ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν.

[2] In Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, chap. 24, entitled "A Conversation not Imaginary," the *Hermotimus* is reproduced, but this gray-haired pupil is changed into a stripling.

[3] Faust's famous soliloquy may serve as a terse epitome of the *Hermotimus*.

[4] *Hermot.* 85.

[5] Cf. Plato *Rep.* 10, 621 A παρὰ τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲν στέγειν.

From the *Eunuchus* we learn that from each of the four officially recognized sects[1] were selected incumbents for imperial professorships at equal salaries of ten thousand drachmae each — a truly princely sum for the times.[2] The canvass of the two rival candidates for a Peripatetic living that has fallen vacant is, in spite of its outrageously naked allegations, perhaps a not entirely unfair exaggeration under the Lucianic microscope of the motes in the eyes of his colleagues.[3] Perhaps some personal failure to obtain or to hold a professorial chair may have sharpened his satire.

In *The Led Philosophers* Lucian pursues mercilessly the "Graeculus" within doors, the private tutor.[4]

The Lie-Fancier[5] gives Lucian at his best in narrations that are permeated with the bitterest satire against superstitions, "faith-cures" and other follies of his day. One story, incidentally, is the prototype of Goethe's *Zauberlehrling* and Barham's rollicking *Lay of St. Dunstan*. The skilfulness of the narration in *The Lie-Fancier* helps Lucian to his rights as author of the frolicsomely wanton romance, the *Asinus*.[6]

Alexander the False Prophet, like *The Lie-Fancier*, sets lance in rest against contemporary superstition. It gives us the biography of the charlatan successful, while *The Life's-End of Peregrinus*, uniquely interesting also on account of its allusions to the Christians, gives us the charlatan desperate.

Amongst others the *Cataplus*, or *Voyage to Hades*, should be mentioned as a pendant to the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and the *Dialogues of the Gods* are but flattering court portraits compared to the snapshots taken in the Olympic green-room of *Juppiter Tragoedus* and *Juppiter Confutatus*.

[1] I.e. Epicureans, Academics, Stoics, and Peripatetics. The Cynics (cf. *Symp.* 44) were ἐναρίθμιοι in conflicts but not in the colleges.

[2] The professorship in question would seem to have been in Athens. It would be interesting to know whether the Gallic professorships were also limited to the four sects, and, if so, whether Lucian's "convictions" just at this time were such as to enable him to qualify as an Epicurean.

[3] For Lucian's incumbency of a professorship in Gaul, see § 3.

[4] See Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, pp. 327 ff.

[5] Adapted for rapid sight-reading. [6] See Introd. to *V. H.*

8. *Imitators of Lucian.* — In Byzantine times the imitation of Lucian was a grateful opportunity,[1] and with the Revival of Learning Lucian must needs lend his comic mask, one side serious, the other distorted to a leer, or pose full-length as model, or, again, yield the less obvious, but real, suggestiveness of his spirit.

In pictorial art Lucian originated or transmitted from antiquity suggestions for the greatest artists of Europe.[2] Transmuting the *Calumnia* of Apelles into his plastic word-picture, he handed down the motive to Botticelli, Raphael, Mantegna, Rembrandt, Albrecht Dürer, and others. Botticelli transferred to his canvas Lucian's *Centaur Family*.[3] In the Palazzo Borghese a pupil of Raphael filled out the sketch by his master of the *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*,[4] which was used also by Sodoma in the Chigi house at Rome and was later born anew from the fecund brush of Rubens. The imaginative picture of eloquence[5] in Lucian's *Gallic Hercules* reappears in sketches by Raphael, Dürer, and Holbein. In Dürer's sketch-book in Vienna there is preserved his *Europa* taken from *D. Mar.* 15.[6] Michelangelo drew from the *Nigrinus*[7] the suggestion for a red-crayon drawing now in Windsor Castle. Two woodcuts of Ambrosius Holbein (i.e. *Arminius*[8] *defeating Varus* and the *Calumny of Apelles*) were printed by Froben with Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, and at table with Froben and Erasmus at Basel sat Hans Holbein as he made his sketches on the margin of his copy of Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae*, as he illustrated Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, and as he was weaving into the composition of his *Dance of Death*[9] the irony of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead.*

[1] Cf. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 394, and for earlier imitators, Alciphron and Apuleius, p. 310. For Theodorus Prodromus etc., see Introd. to *Vit. Auct.* p. 93, and cf. Rentsch, *Das Totengespräch in der Litteratur*, pp. 21, 22, especially for a résumé of Τιμαρίων ἢ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων written ca. 1140 A.D. and Lucian's influence in Byzantine times. See also the dissertation by F. Schuhmacher, *de Joanne Katrario Luciani imitatore*, Bonn 1898.

[2] For these and other suggestions see Förster's *Lucian in der Renaissance.*

[3] *Zeux.* 4. [4] Cf. *Herod.* 5. [5] *Herc.* 4. [6] Cf. Introd. to *D. Mar.*

[7] § 36. [8] Cf. infra von Hutten's *Arminius.*

[9] Cf. Introd. to *D. Mort.*, p. 188, note 3.

In literature Lucian's influence is still more wide-reaching. No age since the cinque-cento fails to reflect it. Erasmus translated and imitated him.[1] More than that, he is redolent of Lucian in the *Encomium Moriae*,[2] the book that electrified Europe — both fools and savants — from Britain to Germany, and whose wireless message still ripples through our atmosphere. Perhaps no other element in the character of Erasmus, the honest rejecter of dogma, is more suggestive of his necessary incompatibility with Luther, the asserter of dogma. Erasmus himself complains[3] that Luther calls him another Lucian.

To trace the open or the more subtle influence of Lucian from the time of Erasmus to the nineteenth century would be full of reward to the thoughtful student of literature. It has never been fully done.[4] Only a brief mention of some of the more obvious names is here offered. To assert direct imitation without intermediary becomes of course more and more perilous as we pass down the line. Erasmus's great Humanist contemporaries were the first to translate from Lucian into German.[5] Reuchlin, among others, translated from him, and found in him fresh impetus for his controversy with the Obscurantists. Ulrich von Hutten left the posthumous Lucianic dialogue *Arminius*, and in his *Phalarismus* he tipped with Lucian's venom the darts shot at Duke Ulrich von Württemberg.

The martyred defender of the papacy and the famous collaborator of Luther were both indebted to Lucian. Sir Thomas More translated the dialogues of Lucian and took from the *Vera Historia* as well as from Plato's *Republic* cues for his *Utopia*, a pendant to the *Encomium Moriae*, while Melanchthon, called in 1518 to Wittenberg, hastened to publish Lucian's *De Calumnia*.

[1] Cf. *Colloquia*, p. 380 of Patrick's ed., London 1750, entitled *Charon*, and see Froude's *Erasmus*, p. 81 etc.

[2] Cf. Voltaire's reference in vol. XLV, dial. x (Œuvres complètes de Voltaire: de l'imprim. de la soc. littéraire typographique), and, for the *Adagia*, Froude's *Erasmus*, p. 51.

[3] Cf. Ep. dcccxliii.

[4] Rentsch in his admirable monograph already cited, *Das Totengespräch in der Litteratur* (Plauen 1895), follows in detail the fortunes of the *D. Mort.*, but includes much that relates to the wider question.

[5] See Rentsch, p. 23.

Just before[1] the death of Erasmus (1536) the spirit of Lucianic mischief reappears in Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1533) and *Gargantua* (1535). Grotesque beyond all claim to Hellenic heritage, his figures, as has been pointed out,[2] are nevertheless "Lucianic in outline."

The extravaganza in vol. II c. xxx of *Pantagruel* was borrowed, it is usually[3] claimed, from Lucian's account in the *Vera Historia;* but Rabelais's raillery might have taken almost as much, it would seem, from Plato's *Republic*. Epistemon's account of the under-world, with its malicious list of the new occupations of some eminent immigrants that he had met, might be a reminiscence of the vision of Er in which, for the next round of mortal existence, the souls either choose lives similar to their old ones or fly to the other extreme. So Rabelais's Helen is *courratière* (= *courtière*) *de chambrières;* Pope Alexander VI is a rat-catcher; pious Aeneas is a miller, and shoulders a bag of meal as handily as if it were the aged Anchises; Commodus is a bagpiper; Darius, instead of directing the digging of canals, is set to a task resembling the fifth labor of Heracles, less imposing, indeed, but a permanent job. But there are Lucianic touches. The poor have become great; Diogenes plays the grand prelate and lords it over Alexander; Epictetus invites Epistemon to a carousal. Like Er, Epistemon at the end can give no very clear account of his return route.

Hans Sachs, Rabelais's contemporary, imitated closely, in spite of blunders due to the medium of a Latin version, Lucian's so-called *Scaphidion* (i.e. *D. Mort.* 10), altering the satire in only a few particulars to suit his own times. His *Schlaraffenland* reflects in detail the *Vera Historia* (see p. 56), and in the prologue to one of his older comedies, the *Judicium Paridis*, "der Ehrenhold" cites his sources thus:

Homerus und Virgilius,
Ovidius, Lucianus,
Auch andre mehr gar kunstenreich,
Doch in beschreybung ungeleich.

[1] In Voltaire's dialogue (vol. XLV, p. 103), however, Rabelais says to Erasmus: "J'ai lu vos écrits, et vous n'avez pas lu les miens, parce que je suis venu un peu après vous."

[2] Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, pp. 312–313. See also his comparison with Voltaire.

[3] Le Motteux, Bernier, etc. Rentsch, l.c.

And in the third act of the same comedy Paris's observations on Juno —

> Wollt Gott das ich ietzt Argus wer,
> Welcher wol hundert augen het,
> Das ich nur recht erkünden thet
> Und ein wahr urtheil möcht verjehen!
> Nun zeuch dich ab und laß dich sehen!

recall the distracted judge of Lucian's Θεῶν Κρίσις 11 (*D. Deor.* 20). οὐκ οἶδα πρὸς ὅ τι ἀποβλέψω πάντῃ τὰς ὄψεις περισπώμενος.[1]

Cervantes gives a nearer parallel to Lucian's *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* and to the opening sentences of the *Vera Historia* in the introduction to his *Don Quixote* than he does in the body of the work itself. Ignoring the more esoteric interpretations of the latter, — such as the contrast between the romantic and the real, — or the author's special crusade against a creed of chivalry outworn and his parental affection for the very folly of his hero, we may content ourselves with comparing the resemblance to Lucian's satire as directed against braggarts and liars. In the case of *Don Quixote* we must repeatedly adjust ourselves to the broadly farcical; but in the *Vera Historia*, once embarked with Lucian and his fifty companions for the Western Ocean, the pilot steers straight on, and all doubts and probabilities drop incontinently out of sight behind the receding Pillars of Heracles.

Quevedo,[2] the younger contemporary and fellow-countryman of Cervantes, cuts many a sharp Lucianic silhouette, and in his *Visions* (e.g. Sueños Nos. 3 and 6) is at once reminiscent of the *Vera Historia* and also seems to anticipate the still clearer references in Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique des états et empires de la lune*, published (1656) thirty years later, and in his *Histoire comique des états et empires du soleil* (1661). These two posthumous publications probably suggested in part Voltaire's *Micromégas* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels.* Emphasis is usually laid altogether upon the reminiscences of the *Vera Historia* in Cyrano's *Voyage to the Moon*, but it would seem that parallels with the *Icaromenippus* are equally suggestive: e.g., in the *Voyage to the Moon*[3] the kindness and

[1] See also below, p. 22, note 3. [2] Cf. Rentsch, p. 27, for résumé.

[3] See p. 74 of the reprint, Doubleday and McClure Co., 1899.

counsel of the Demon of Socrates remind us of the apparition of Empedocles; so, too, Cyrano's return to the Earth in the arms of the Demon is a fair compromise between Icaromenippus's flying-machine on the voyage out and his homeward trip under the convoy of Hermes. As we approach with Cyrano the outspread world, we are reminded of the panoramas that Lucian introduces so often, as in *Icaromenippus*, *Bis Accusatus*, *Charon*, and *Fugitivi*. Cyrano's close reproductions (cf. the Lychnobii with the Lychnopolis of the *Vera Historia*) are indeed few, but one is reminded of Lucian now and again as by a face half seen in a crowd. We feel that Cyrano's long nose is a not unworthy successor of Lucian's goat-shanks peeping from the rhetorician's robe.

Other writers, as open imitators, kept alive the formal recognition of Lucian's influence. Towards the end of the seventeenth century there was again a great demand for the dialogue, and Boileau gave the impetus to many imitations of Lucian by his *Dialogue à la manière de Lucien: les Héros de roman*. Although this did not appear in authorized form until 1713, it had been privately recited much earlier, and one of the hearers was so appreciative as to have printed surreptitiously all that he could remember. *Les Héros de roman* is not merely an imitation of the *Dialogi Mortuorum*. It is Lucianic in a wider sense, and is admirable for its originality. From the *Vera Historia* is borrowed the suggestion for the rebellion of the damned, but the animus of the satire directed against the pseudo-heroes has more of the flavor of Lucian's account of the false philosophers and his summary treatment of the queer fish in the *Piscator*. Not every glittering goldfish is a Chrysippus, and Boileau's pseudo-heroes are stripped as naked as Lucian's dead (*D. Mort.* 10) and driven forth to punishment.

Again, in the *Fragment d'un dialogue* where Boileau picks flaws in Horace's bad French, — an inverted criticism on the bad Latin of French poetasters, — we think of the wooden Atticists of Lucian's day and his crusade against them in the *Lexiphanes*. Later, Voltaire brings to life Titus, Trajan, and Aurelius in *Les trois empereurs en Sorbonne* to shudder at the Latin of the theologians!

Fontenelle, whose *Dialogues des morts* were published in 1683 (a quarter of a century after Cyrano's death), prefixes to them a dedication, "A Lucien, aux champs Élysiens." This dedication, with its wooden and self-depreciatory acknowledgment of his debt to Lucian, hardly prepares us for the really worthy touches in his dialogues — e.g. his *Didon et Stratonice*, or, better still, his *Charles V et Érasme*, where Erasmus's fancied triumph over the emperor, now "in reduced circumstances," is blighted by the discovery that to have been born "avec un cerveau bien disposé" "is pure luck and no more of a marketable asset of merit in the 'champs Élysiens' than to have had 'un père qui soit roi.'" Thus Fontenelle out-Lucians Lucian's *égalité* in Hades.

Fénelon, too, in his *Dialogues des morts* (1712), showed conclusively that he had taken Lucian to both his heart and his brain. His admirable dialogue, *Hérodote et Lucien* (No. xv), is Lucianic enough both in the situation and in the treatment. The very essence of the *Hermotimus* is condensed at the end. To the wish of Herodotus that the gods, by way of punishment, would again incarnate this Syrian mocker in the body of a traveller and send him over the itinerary of the Father of History to confirm the correctness of his αὐτοψία, Lucian replies that only one thing further would then be necessary: "that I should pass 'de corps en corps dans toutes les sectes de philosophes que j'ai décriées : par là je serois tour à tour de toutes les opinions contraires dont je me suis moqué. Cela seroit bien joli.'"

One could recommend, too, as an antidote to the grieved and puzzled expositors, ancient and modern, of Lucian's attitude in the *Vitarum Auctio* and the *Piscator*, Lucian's reply to Herodotus's complaint that he had busied himself with the degenerate philosophers of his own time: "Que voulois-tu donc que je fisse? que j'eusse vu ceux qui étoient morts plusieurs siècles avant ma naissance?"

In Dialogue xix Pericles's admission that the judges are impervious to persuasion has a familiar sound; in xx the opening words to Mercury about Alcibiades might be a translation from Lucian, and the suggested intrigue between Alcibiades and Proserpine recalls again the elopement of Helen with Cinyras in the *Vera*

Historia; while in the dialogue (No. xxiv) between Plato and Aristotle the partisan sarcasm reminds us of Lucian in his polemic strain.

In 1726 Swift published *Gulliver's Travels.* He was openly indebted to Rabelais, and, like Fontenelle, borrowed hints here and there from Cyrano's two Comic Histories. In the external form and in various matters, like the interviewing (B. III, c. viii) of Homer and Aristotle with their commentators, and still more perhaps in the air of verisimilitude of the details with which he surrounds the impossible, we recognize Lucian's *Vera Historia;* but the quality of Swift's bitter satire recalls Juvenal more than the genial humor of Lucian.[1]

Voltaire lived from 1694 to 1778. There is such an obvious parallel between certain elements in his and Lucian's life and writings that it is but a natural reaction to seek to minimize the resemblance by pointing out the differences. It may be misleading to call Lucian the Voltaire of the second century, but it is better than to name Voltaire a Lucian of the eighteenth century. Human life had in the interval grown too complex for these designations to be convertible. There was, too, an inherent difference. Both were typical dogma-despisers and myth-mockers, but Lucian could merge his righteous indignation in his mischief and take refuge from his cynicism in his chosen career as artist, while Voltaire, though hampered by vanity and his flattery of princes, and though himself playing a part before his admirers, had the woe upon him of a reformer.

The malodorous pyre of the Cynic suicide or the charlatanry of an Alexander Pseudomantis made Lucian only on occasion forget his ordinary self-restraint and humor; but Voltaire's bloodshot

[1] Cf. Croiset, p. 378: "Cette fantaisie ironique de Lucien . . . ne se retrouve chez ses imitateurs qu'avec des caractères assez différents. Chez Rabelais, elle est tellement surchargée parfois et si incohérente en général, que la conformité première disparaît en fait dans les details. Chez Voltaire elle est au contraire alerte et dégagée; mais par là même, elle semble un peu maigre à côté de celle de l'écrivain grec. Swift est peut-être celui qui ressemble le plus à Lucien. . . . Seulement l'écrivain anglais a plus de flegme et de parti pris; il y a quelque chose de plus voulu dans sa fantaisie, et par suite elle a moins de charme et variété."

vision turned continually up the long vista of centuries flanked by burning heretics. He could not win upon Lady Philosophy[1] or Truth herself to show him the loyal among all the throng of the fanatics — cowled monks or scowling Protestants — who lit the fagots or thrust up the spear again to draw forth blood and water.

Voltaire's dialogue (vol. XLV, No. x) *Lucien, Érasme et Rabelais* is suggestive both of what Voltaire took from Lucian and of what he ignored. After informing himself as to the vital statistics of his two distinguished epigones, Lucian goes off in a corner to read presentation copies of their works. Meanwhile Erasmus and Rabelais essay a mutual readjustment of their views, and in the end all three meet the newly arrived Dr. Swift and go off in his company. Thus Voltaire openly avows a certain kinship with these four, and Erasmus, indeed, is his spokesman. It has been pointed out that Voltaire reflects the *Hermotimus* in his *Candide*, and we may add that we again find the paralyzing agnosticism of the conclusions of the *Hermotimus* repeated in his *Gallimatias Dramatique*, where the Chinese refuse to give heed to the ex-parte preaching of Jesuit or Jansenist, Puritan, Quaker, Anglican, Lutheran, Mussulman, or Jew. It was with just this least genial, but essential, side of Lucian that Voltaire could sympathize, although Rentsch[2] thinks that Voltaire was far more genial than Lucian and that he knew Lucian's writings only superficially.

Le Sage in *Gil Blas* (1715 1735), through Espinel's *Marcos de Obregon*, was joint heir with Boccaccio, Cervantes, and others, to the contents of the panniers either of Lucian's *Asinus* or of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.

In the current editions of Baron Munchausen's Adventures (first "collected" and published by Raspe in 1785, seven years after Voltaire's death), we find undisguised, sometimes almost *verbatim*, imitation of Lucian's *Vera Historia*.[3]

[1] Cf. *Pisc.* sub fin.

[2] Cf. his illuminating dissertation *Lucian und Voltaire* (Plauen, 1895) for a thoughtful comparative characterization of the two writers.

[3] Cf. Jerram's introduction.

At the close of the eighteenth century Wieland, Lucian's great translator, gives still other proofs of the influence of his favorite author, as in his *Gespräche in Elysium* and his romance *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* written in the manner of *Don Quixote.* Schiller in the *Xenien* — itself, in part, suggestive of the *Hermotimus* — makes Peregrinus Proteus send back from Hades his thanks to Wieland for whitewashing him; but the shade modestly admits that the kindness was misplaced. Lucian, too, when asked whether he is at last reconciled with the philosophers, must square accounts with his undertakers, Wieland among them:

> Rede leiser, mein Freund. Zwar hab' ich die Narren gezüchtigt,
> Aber mit vielem Geschwätz oft auch die Klugen geplagt.

Goethe, too, attacking Wieland with over-bitter satire in his farce *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, shows incidentally his insight into Lucianic satire. His Hercules, for example, is a replica of Lucian's Heracles in the sixteenth Dialogue of the Dead.

Both Goethe in his *Zauberlehrling* and the Rev. Richard Barham (*Ingoldsby Legends*) in his *Lay of St. Dunstan* reproduce the pestle-compelling priest of Lucian's *Philopseudes;* and, if it were not labor lost to identify water-drops from a Greek fountain in the wide Atlantic, we might see traces of Lucian as well as Aeschylus in Goethe's bitter *Prometheus*, and, more confidently, catch the despairing tones of Hermotimus in Faust's monologue.

Before Goethe died Jules Verne was born, and his *Voyage au centre de la terre* (cf. *De la terre à la lune*) carries us back through Cyrano de Bergerac to the *Vera Historia.* But, though Lucian long held in mortmain the estates that he had inherited in Cloud-cuckoo-land, it is a far cry from the *Dialogues of the Dead* to Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* or to Marion Crawford's *Among the Immortals.*

Lucian has had scores of less worthy imitators, the *Dialogues of the Dead* most often furnishing the model. To try to recognize these ghostly whispers on all the modern graphophones were an unremunerative task, but it is worth while to recall as a curiosity of literature the series of attempts made in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries to feed Lucianic dialogues into the hopper of periodic journalism. One example may illustrate. Beginning in 1718, David Fassmann actually published for twenty-two years in Leipzig a monthly [1] magazine made up of distinguished dead men's dialogues on current events. Unloading monthly his cargo of ghosts, he overstocked the long-suffering Fatherland, enriched Charon, and depleted Pluto's majority. But to charge up to Lucian the taxes on all these barren plots would be as unfair as to cloud the title of property held in fee-simple by a Rabelais or a Cyrano.

9. *Place as an Author.* — The reasons for including Lucian in a curriculum of classic Greek are threefold. On the half-concealed rubble of the Common Dialect [2] he built up a pier of Attic Greek far out in the turgid stream. He bridged over the chasm between the ancient and the modern as well in language as in subject-matter. He developed with great success the Satiric Dialogue, and has thus made good his claim to a place in Greek literature.

Finally, as Croiset points out,[3] truth is to be sought in the due harmonizing of the admiration of the good and the beautiful with the critical instinct. This critical instinct is, of course, found in other comic and satiric writers, but Lucian is peculiarly suited for the general reader. Clear and simple in style, he touches mainly upon ideas that are simple. His satires are less recondite, more modern, than those of Aristophanes.[4] They are therefore easier for rapid reading. Their modernity, moreover, is generic and does not entail undue consideration of merely ephemeral fancies.

Any one who cannot find fun on nearly every page of Lucian's best writings must be dull indeed, while he who sees nothing deeper must be almost as obtuse. Lucian throughout is an artist, and for this very reason he is much more.[5] The figures of the Greek world

[1] Or nearly so; more than twenty thousand pages of this were issued. Cf. Rentsch, l.c. p. 33, for other journalistic attempts.

[2] See below, § 11.

[3] Cf. Croiset, p. 394.

[4] The *spirituel* in Lucian's nature and his almost unfailing good taste make him, as a rule, avoid the grossness which besets the pathway of the κῶμος.

[5] See Froude's estimate, *Erasmus*, p. 81.

under Roman sway, men and women, the denizens of Olympia, ocean, earth, and hell, are clearly mirrored in his writings just as the great figures on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel — the Creator and his creatures reappear at our convenience in the mirrors below.

Lucian's Greek[1]

10. The Greek language, as distinguished from its literature, is to be thought of as continuous from pre-Homeric times to the present day. The arbitrary break in Greek history, often made by historians at the death of Alexander the Great, has not unnaturally influenced also the treatment of the literature and the language. Any hiatus, however, in the literature, either then or in Byzantine times, merely registers the non-appearance, for whatever reason, of worthy writers. The language, like the marble-quarries of Pentelicus, lay dormant only for lack of a Praxiteles.[2]

11. *The Common Dialect.* — The Κοινή, the Greek that came into use throughout the Greek world under Macedonian and Roman sway, was more or less what the name implies, the speech of common intercourse from about 300 B.C. to 500 A.D.[3] It is often spoken of as the written Greek of Polybius and his successors, but it is

[1] Especial reference is here made to the following commentators, in whose notes previous literature on Lucian is included.

Gildersleeve: *Encroachments of οὐ on μή in Later Greek*, A.J.P. vol. I (1880); also *Syntax of Classical Greek*, part I (1900).

Schmid: *Der Atticismus* (1887–1897), esp. vol. I.

Chabert: *L'Atticisme de Lucien* (Paris 1897).

For the κοινή in particular:

Kühner-Blass, *Ausführ. Gram. d. Griech. Spr.* (1890), I, p. 22 f.

Hatzidakis, *Neugriechische Grammatik* (1892).

Winer-Schmiedel, *Gram. des N. T. Sprachidioms* (1894).

Blass, *Gram. des N. T. Griechisch* (1896) esp. pp. 1–30.

Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (Strassburg 1901). See especially notes to same for recent literature.

Kretschmer, *Die Entstehung der* Κοινή, Sitzber. Wiener Akad., 1900, p. 143 ff.

[2] Hatzidakis, *Neugriech. Gram.*, p. 4.

[3] See Thumb, p. 6, for discussion of the limits of time.

essential to lay at least as much stress on the spoken language. This latter it is becoming more and more possible to recover in some detail from the inscriptions and from the papyri,[1] which represent, even better than the books of the New Testament, the real language of the κοινή.

If Attica, as is commonly assumed, was the birthplace of the κοινή, it was nursed to maturity in Asia Minor and in Egypt,[2] and the Ionian admixture played a leading part. As a language spoken over so wide a territory — from Syria to Gaul and from Egypt to Macedon — its divergences were manifold. But the growth and spread of a common language became inevitable. The conquests of Alexander; the traders that met and passed at Delos; the new centres for the κοινή colonized by the Romans; the centres of university life from Rhodes to Marseilles; the Olympic festivals attracting even under the emperors throngs from far and near;[3] unnumbered Hellenizing Jews, dispersed but not lost among the Gentiles; the spread of Christianity itself; — all these factors helped to create and to satisfy the demand for a common speech. Greek became both the chief "Kultursprache" and the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean basin.

However remote may have been the cousinship of the Macedonian dialect to the Hellenic family proper, yet the Greek which Alexander had learned as a pupil of Aristotle, and even the early form of the κοινή which he had adopted as his official language at home and which his armies carried abroad, could not have been so very far removed from the *spoken* language of Plato, the master of Alexander's tutor.[4]

[1] Blass, *Gram. N. T.*, § 1, 2 and Thumb, passim. But see also Hatzidakis, *Neugriech. Gram.*, p. 19.

[2] Thumb, p. 248: "Man darf wohl sagen, dass die Κοινή und das Neugriechische in Kleinasien und Ägypten ausgebildet worden sind."

[3] Thumb, p. 247, and cf. Lucian's *Peregrinus*.

[4] Schmid (I, 403) emphasizes this continuity from another side, i.e. that of the late Comedy: "Auch wird von der Sprache der (besonders späteren) attischen Komiker, aus welcher Lucian so vielfach schöpft, der Schritt herüber zur lebenden Sprache der gebildeten Kreise in Lucians Zeit nicht sehr groß gewesen sein."

Used in Attica and Ionia, and by Dorians, Syrians, and Egyptians, by Macedonians, Romans, and barbarians, by Hellene and Hellenist, by Jew and Gentile, the Attic vocabulary shared its rights with a respectable minority of words from the other dialects, from Latin, or from other un-Hellenic languages; the structure of the language weakened; the inflections were mutilated or transferred; the language yielded more and more to the analytic tendency. By the time of Lucian this Attic-Ionic *κοινή* appears to have permeated completely even the conservative Dorian population of the Peloponnesus, and after reaching its maturity more rapidly in other parts of the Greek world reacted upon Attica.

As for the literary *κοινή*, it has been characterized[1] as the child begotten of the Attic by the old Greek as its father. While in this the tendency to uniformity was stronger, yet here too the speech of the common people in the different localities influenced the written style. Thus in Egypt the Alexandrian dialect must have been influenced by special factors, such as the Greek colony at Naucratis, antedating the founding of Alexandria, or the presence of nearly a million Jewish residents. Concerning the relation of this and the Syrian Greek, or the relation of the Greek of the Septuagint and that of the New Testament books to these dialects and to each other, widely varying opinions have been expressed.[2]

The historian Polybius, who lived in the second century B.C., is the oldest[3] example of a writer of prominence using this literary *κοινή*, and he exhibits already the characteristics which distinguish the life and growth of the Greek language through the succeeding centuries. The Athenians, however, strove to maintain intact their

[1] See Thumb, p. 8.

[2] Cf. Winer-Schmiedel (§ 3), who refers to the Alexandrian dialect as the basis of the Greek of the Septuagint and, in part at least, of the New Testament Greek, while Blass (*Gram. N.T.* § 1, 2) declares that the books of the Septuagint are slavishly literal translations — "gesprochen hat so kein Mensch, auch die jüdischen Übersetzer selbst nicht."

[3] Among his successors may be mentioned — however much or little they resorted to an artificial Atticism — Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Josephus, Plutarch, Dion Chrysostom, the New Testament writers (and the LXX), Arrian, Appian, Pausanias, Aristides, Lucian, etc.

linguistic inheritance in spite of the growth of the κοινή at home and abroad among all the other Hellenizing peoples. Soon after the Greek world had passed from the Macedonian under the Roman sway, a reaction in favor of Atticism[1] made itself felt among Greek *literati* generally.[2] But Atticism was purely a literary movement, and could not avail to prevent the ultimate submerging of the Attic, together with the other dialects, in this precursor of Modern Greek. Athenian Greek of to-day, reinforced by the newspaper and the school, has been more successful in constructing an artificial millpond into which come tumbling the streams from the hill-country bearing denuded roots and native soil.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (died 7 B.C.), the most prominent Atticist of the first century B.C., contributed not a little to the success of this tendency, artificial at its best but not wholly undesirable in its aim to keep alive the best traditions of the literary Greek. In the next century we have Dion Chrysostom and his finely gilded Greek. In the second century of our era, when the Syrian Lucian looked around him on the Greek world, the popular speech was the κοινή, but he found rhetoric and literature controlled by Atticism. Herodes Atticus, the accomplished rhetorician, had both the Roman emperor and the Greek Baedeker, Pausanias, among his pupils.[3] Lucian, when his real powers asserted themselves, became a literary artist. Hence he became inevitably an Atticist.[4] To make frank use of the vulgar speech itself as a vehicle for literary expression occurred to him no more than it did to Dante in his earlier career. But he knew how to lift this Atticizing process out of much of the artificiality then in vogue. He mastered both what his predecessors had done and what his

[1] For a redefining of this term see Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Atticismus und Asianismus*, Hermes xxxv.

[2] Artificial *Ionizing* and *Dorizing* were also fashions prevalent in the first and second centuries. For the former cf. Lucian's (?) *De Dea Syria*, written perhaps partly in mockery of this fad, and the imitation by physicians of the Ionic of Hippocrates, while the New-Pythagoreans wrote in Doric (cf. Thumb, p. 29).

[3] For the pupils of Herodes Atticus, see Schmid, I, 201.

[4] Chabert explains this process at length in his chapter "Comment Lucien devint atticiste."

contemporaries were trying to do, and he re-created for himself an Attic style and diction which avoided at once the uncouthness of the age and much of its slavish galvanizing of the past into life. He was guilty of occasional solecisms. The κοινὴ διάλεκτος was the basis of his Greek; it peeped through now and again. His Atticizing was veneered upon this. It was conscious and deliberate; but it was successful. He made a nearer approach — and it is very near — to Attic Greek than any other extant author subsequent to the fourth century B.C.

12. Before mentioning the peculiarities, illustrated more or less often in these selections, it may be well to emphasize the following propositions:

(*a*) Lucian's main stock of words and usages was common to the best Attic Greek. Although his vocabulary was unusually large (i.e. about 10,400 words as compared with 9,900 in Plato), yet only some 1300 words belong to late usage, and more than half of these (i.e. 711) are used each *once only*, so that only one sixteenth of his working vocabulary need be viewed as late. Add to this, that of 1511 poetic words nearly half (751) are used once only, while of new words in his vocabulary much the largest part consists of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.[1]

(*b*) His Atticizing was rarely overdone. In his *Lexiphanes* he condemns in others this bungling Atticizing, and elsewhere, when it is not part of his satire, he prunes it to due proportion as he perfects his style.

(*c*) His divergences from Attic (or from Atticism itself) were usually along lines already apparent in embryo in the Attic period, or else they were survivals from pre-Attic times. His actual solecisms were few and common to his time.

The following notes refer, as a rule, only to the selections here edited. They therefore give a somewhat one-sided view of Lucian's Greek. It must not be inferred that the peculiarities here noted necessarily permeate all of Lucian's writings in an equal degree, though as a rule that is the case. On the other hand, a number of peculiarities occur only in pieces not here edited. These have been

[1] Cf. Schmid, I, 431 and 402.

included in this conspectus only where it seemed most necessary. Finally, some forms or expressions found in Attic prose are here cited because they have become mannerisms in Lucian through too frequent use.

13. *Dual Number.* — The use of the dual was foreign to the Aeolic dialect, to Herodotus, and, generally speaking, to the κοινή.[1] The Atticists revived it as an easy means of giving Attic flavor. Lucian uses it frequently,[2] but is guilty of admitting the tabooed form ταῖν in the fem. gen. of the article, see App. *Somn.* 6.[3]

His careful use of the dual in general, however, is another proof of his successful acquisition of Attic Greek.

14. *Levelling of verb.* — (*a*) *Forms in -μι and -ω.* Attic -μι forms (chiefly those in -νυμι and -ημι) are frequently found inflected as verbs in -ω. Late writers usually prefer forms in -νω to -υμι. E.g. *Somn.* 4 and 16 ἐδείκνυον, *Vit. Auct.* 16 ὀμνύω.

(*b*) *Personal endings.* E.g. ἔφης for ἔφησθα *Vit. Auct.* 6.

15. *Augment.* — The augment is sometimes omitted, especially in long forms like the plpf. See Schmid, I, 83; 228. This was the prevailing usage in the New Testament. Cf. Winer-Schmiedel, I, § 12, 4.

16. *Aorist of liquid verbs.* — Contrary to Attic usage (but cf. Veitch), α is used in some forms for η. E.g. *V. H.* B 37 κοιλάναντες (cf. Schmid, I, 229) and § 41 ἐπεσήμανεν.

17. *Imperative.* — Of the forms of the third pers. pl. -όντων and -έτωσαν, Lucian has more frequently the latter.

18. *Confusion of voice.* — Schmid (I, 239) gives a list of more than twenty verbs in Lucian transferred from active to middle and of five used in the active instead of the middle. The following occur in these selections:[4]

[1] In Attic and the Atticists there was "a progressive decline in the use of the dual from Aristotle to Diodoros and a gradual rise from Dionysios of Halikarnasos on." *A.J.P.* XIV, 521.

[2] Schmid counts eighty times in (what he assumes to be) the genuine works of Lucian.

[3] Cf. the article by E. Hasse, *Über den Dualis bei Lukianos*, Neue Jahrbücher CXLVII (1893), 681–688. "For fem. article the acc. is τώ, the gen. ταῖν and τοῖν, the dat. ταῖν."

[4] The *Gallus* has been omitted.

(*a*) *Active for middle.* — ἀνέῳγα for ἀνέῳγμαι *D. Mort.* 4, 1; *Gall.* 6; 32. These perhaps came by analogy from forms like (ἀπ)όλωλα, γέγονα, etc.

παῦε for παύου *Gall.* 4 and 6. But this intr. use of the act. pres. imv. was the usual one in the poets; cf. also Plato *Phaedr.* 228 E.

(*b*) *Middle for active.* — ἤμην impf. mid. from εἰμί (the common form in the New Testament, and usual in late writers) is found in Lucian occasionally. E.g. *V.H.* B 25 παρήμην.

On διδάσκου for δίδασκε see App. to *Somn.* 2.

On ἀγανακτησαμένη in active sense see App. to *Somn.* 4.

τεθνήξομαι is used repeatedly for τεθνήξω. E.g. *Char.* 8 and 17; *Pisc.* 10, etc.; add *Peregr.* 25. The active seems to have been affected by the Atticists as being *high* Attic (see Veitch s.v.).

(*c*) *Middle future in passive sense.* This was considered an Atticism. Lucian uses it from time to time (e.g. *Icar.* 33 πάντες ἐπιτρίψονται).

19. *Miscellaneous forms.* — Future of ἔρχομαι. Lucian uses this repeatedly. E.g. *D. Mort.* 18, 2 μετελεύσομαι, *Gall.* 3 ἀνελευσόμενον. Attic prose uses e.g. εἶμι or πορεύσομαι.

ὠνέομαι. Lucian frequently uses first aor. ὠνησάμην instead of the Attic ἐπριάμην. See Veitch s.v. *D. Mort.* 4, 1; and add *Vit. Auct.* 18; 26; *Peregr.* 9.

20. *Participle with auxiliaries.* — For the frequent use of periphrastic forms, like participles with εἰμί and ἔχω instead of the finite forms, cf. Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.*, §§ 285–296.[1] In the earlier Greek it was a mere matter of self-restraint. The analytic tendency culminated in modern Greek as in other modern languages.

21. *Neuter adjective and article for feminine abstract.* — This is frequent in Lucian, e.g. *Somn.* 8 τὸ εὐτελές = ἡ εὐτέλεια. So for simple concrete, l.c. τὸ πιναρόν = ὁ πίνος. This usage was favored by Thucydides.[2]

22. *Use of the plural of abstracts.* — The literary κοινή affected this in pursuance of concord (ἁρμονία), Schmid, IV, 608. See the jumble of plurals in *Char.* 15 ἐλπίδες — δείματα — ἄγνοιαι — ἡδοναί

[1] Cf. also Alexander, *A.J.P.* IV, 308.

[2] Cf. especially Schmid, I, 233.

—φιλαργυρίαι—ὀργαί—μίση. Cf. § 18 and see Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.*, §§ 44, 45; also Dyer's note to Plato, *Crito* 46 B.

23. (*a*) *Extended use of predicate adjective.* — Lucian's extension of this classic use of the proleptic predicate adjective (cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1, 5. 8 μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἁμάξας) becomes a mannerism:[1] e.g. *Somn.* 1 et passim.

(*b*) *Adjectives as relative clauses.* — Lucian favors usage like that of γυμνά in *D. Mort.* 1, 3 κρανία γυμνὰ τοῦ κάλλους, also 18, 1; and cf. *V. H.* B 26 κενήν.

24. (*a*) *Heaping up of particles.* Lucian uses complicated periodic structures only occasionally. He strings together many clauses consecutively by a simple καί. Indeed, καί often connects nouns and sentences (e.g. *Somn.* 14 ἡ σκυτάλη καὶ ὅτι . . .). But he reinforces his conjunctions with others more than is usual in Attic; e.g. καὶ μὴν καί, τοιγαροῦν (fifty-six times); πλὴν ἀλλά is used seventy-four times as against fifty-four times for the simple conjunction πλήν.

(*b*) *Combination of prepositions.* — Of combinations like ἄχρι πρός, μέχρι πρός, ἔστε πρός, the first seems to be a specialty of Lucian. E.g. *Somn.* 15; *Char.* 10 (bis). Xenophon has ἄχρι εἰς.

25. *Prepositions: miscellaneous.* — μετὰ δέ, for ἔπειτα δέ, adverbial, is late and poetic. Lucian uses it repeatedly. E.g. *Vit. Auct.* 4; 9.

We find ὑπό with dat. for ὑπό with gen. e.g. *Somn.* 12, also ὑπό with dat. instead of simple dative.

The temporal use of πρό is frequent in Lucian as in other late Greek writers. Du Mesnil calls it a Latinism. E.g. *Peregr.* 1 οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος. Cf. L. & S. s.v., A, II.

26. ὡς *for* ὥστε. — Lucian frequently uses ὡς in consecutive sentences. As a model in this he had not only the Ionic of Herodotus but also instances in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Xenophon (GMT. 608 and 609).

27. καίτοι *for* καίπερ. — Instead of the finite verb the participle is often found in Lucian with καίτοι instead of with καίπερ. E.g. *V. H.* B 21; *Peregr.* 33; *D. Deor.* 19, 2. This is late Greek, and the

[1] Cf. diss. by A. W. Milden, *The Limitations of the Predicate Position in Greek*, Baltimore 1900 (especially pp. 26 ff.).

sporadic instances in classic authors of *καίτοι* with partic. may now be eliminated; see Bolling, *A.J.P.*, XXIII, 319.

28. *Parataxis.* — Parataxis in Lucian (perhaps more or less as reminiscence of Herodotus or Homer) is frequent; especially with *ἅμα* — e.g. *Somn.* 3; *V.H.* B 20; 39 — but sometimes loosely extended.

29. *εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι etc.* — Various short phrases, independent of the structure of the sentence, are frequently interjected. E.g. *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως* *Char.* 6 (cf. nescio quo modo = aliquo modo); *Gall.* 29 *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν* (alicunde); *Somn.* 18 *εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι* and *D. Mar.* 3 *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι* or *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου*.

Plato was especially fond of these expressions.

30. *Article with an explanatory accusative.* — This bald accusative is far more picturesque than if *ἔχων* or *φορῶν*, or even other less obvious words agreeing with the article, were added. It is an odd ellipsis (see *A.J.P.* IX, 100, and Bernhardy, *Wiss. Syntax*, S. 119) and seems to be an outright Lucianism, not a reminiscence of Herodotus.[1] E.g. *D. Mort.* 10, 4 *ὁ δὲ τὴν πορφυρίδα οὑτοσί* *this fellow here with the purple robe on* and *Char.* 9; 14; 23. Also *Gall.* 14 *ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰ ῥάκια τὰ πιναρά*, *Catapl.* 4 *ὁ τὸ ξύλον*, *Bis Acc.* 9 *ὁ τὴν σύριγγα, ὁ λάσιος ἐκ τοῖν σκελοῖν*.

In classic Greek, as possible parallels, might be cited from Aristophanes *Pax* 241 *ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν* (difficult to supply *ἑστώς*); *Thesmoph.* 394 *τὰς οὐδὲν ὑγιές* (probably sc. *οὔσας*); in *Eccles.* 742 *ὁ τὴν σκάφην λαβὼν προΐτω*, interpretations might vary.

31. *Genitive case.* — The use of the partitive genitive as in *D. Mar.* 1, 5 *τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ξένων* and *Pisc.* 12 *τοὺς πένητας τῶν ἐραστῶν* is normal Attic (cf. Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.* IX, 99–100). For the use *Vit. Auct.* 1, *παντὸς εἴδους*, cf. Chabert p. 167, who cites it as a Latinism.

32. *Confusion in designations of place.* — E.g. Where and Whither. English usage has become confused in only one direction, using *where* and *here* for *whither* and *hither*. For the accusative tending to absorb other case-relations cf. *Pisc.* 36 *ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων* and *Gall.* 14 *ὑπὸ μάλην* (but see v.l. ad loc.).

33. *Confusion of voice.* — See above, § 18.

[1] Cf. Penick, *Herodotus in the Greek Renascence* (Baltimore 1903).

34. *Tenses.* — (*a*) Perfect and pluperfect. The frequency of Lucian's use of the perfect stem is perhaps stylistically abnormal.[1] But it usually seems excusable, often preferable, rarely inexplicable. E.g. see notes on *Somn.* 9; 13; and on *Char.* 21.

(*b*) Perfect infinitive after *βούλομαι, χρή*, and *δεῖ*. E.g. *Vit. Auct.* 13 *πεπρᾶσθαι βούλομαι*. *D. Mort.* 4, 1 *ἄμεινον γὰρ γεγράφθαι*. *Pisc.* 2 *ἀνεσκολοπίσθαι δοκεῖ*. This also is Attic: see Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.* IX, 101 (accepted by Schmid, II, 53).

(*c*) Future indicative instead of dubitative subjunctive. The Attic usage was subjunctive. E.g. after *βούλομαι, Char.* 7 *βούλει . . . ἐρήσομαι*.

35. *Moods.* — (*a*) Optative in subordinate sentences after *primary* tense. This irregularity[2] is one of the most noticeable in Lucian. In final clauses it occurs only after *ὅπως* and *ὡς*, not after *ἵνα*. E.g. *Char.* 1 et passim; *Peregr.* 8; 23; *Pisc.* 13; 44; etc.[3] In oratio obliqua after *ὡς*, e.g. *Gall.* 4.

(*b*) *ὡς* (and *ὅπως*) *ἄν*. Lucian uses this both with subjunctive and with optative in final clauses (cf. GMT. 325–330 for limitations in classic Greek usage).[4] E.g. *Peregr.* 37; *D. Mort.* 42; *Pisc.* 15.

(*c*) Irregular optatives in protasis. The optative occurs irregularly in a number of protases after the indicative present, future, or perfect, or the imperative. E.g. *Char.* 1 *εἰ . . . εὕροις* for *ἐὰν . . . εὕρῃς*, but in *Char.* 12 *ἄν* is omitted with *ἀποφαίνειν* (if present

[1] See Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.* XXIII, 248.

[2] See Gildersleeve, *On the Final Sentence in Greek*, A.J.P. IV, 426 and 428; also XXIII, 130–132; XXIV, 107.

[3] See Heller, *Die Absichtssätze bei Lucian*, Berlin 1880.

We find, indeed, after verbs of striving etc. generally *ὅπως* with optative equivalent to *ὅπως* with future indicative; *ὡς* (and *ὅπως* twice) in pure final clauses with optative after primary tenses. On the other hand *ὡς* with the subjunctive is used almost exclusively in primary sequence (as exception to this may be cited *Gall.* 18 *εἰλόμην . . . ὡς ἐκπλήττωνται*), but two thirds of the examples with final *ὡς* have the optative. In fact, *ὡς* has become the chief final particle in Lucian. Heller suggests that it may have been influenced by Latin *ut*.

[4] See Heller, pp. 15, 22, 23. "Während *ἵνα* in finalem Sinne nie ein *ἄν* erträgt, ist es bei *ὡς* (und *ὅπως*) möglich, eine Absicht in dieser bedingten Weise zu modificieren."

infinitive is retained) which represents an optative (cf. infra, potential optative without ἄν). Reading ἀποφανεῖν compare *Gall.* 16 εἰ . . . εἴη ἀπάγξομαι.

36. *Irregular use of ἄν.*[1] — (*a*) Combined with optative instead of subjunctive. E.g. *V. H.* B 29 ἐὰν (some Mss. εἰ) καταχθείημεν. *Pisc.* 33; *Gall.* 1 ὁπόσον ἂν δυναίμην. Cf. Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.*, §§ 448, 449.

(*b*) Sometimes lacking, where required, with optative, subjunctive, and unreal indicative. Thus often potential optative without ἄν (cf. Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.*, § 450).

(*c*) Irregular subjunctive constructions without ἄν are —

1. relative, no ἄν, subjunctive.
2. εἰ, no ἄν, subjunctive.
3. πρίν and ἕως, no ἄν, subjunctive. E.g. *V. H.* B 18 πρὶν ἐλλεβορίσῃ (but see GMT. 648).

37. *Negatives.* — The confusion between μή and οὐ was too common in later Greek for Lucian to avoid it altogether. He is generally right, but there are numerous divergences and some developments from Attic usage. Some instances, quoted as errors by commentators, are perfectly correct — like ὅτι μή *except* — or justifiable on the principle of the adherescent οὐ.[2]

38. οὐ *for* μή. — This is relatively infrequent.[3] E.g. *Vit. Auct.* 1 εἰ . . . οὐκ ἔχει. This οὐ may be due to a manner of quotation: i.e. *if* (*any one says*) *he has n't.* Of the other examples, not found in these selections, some are to be explained by the adherescent οὐ. For a bold solecism of the later Greek cf. the famous syllogism "the horned," εἴ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτ' ἔχεις.

39. μή *for* οὐ. — (*a*) With infinitive in oratio obliqua. It is perhaps less surprising that μή crept in here, as being elsewhere the normal[4] negative with the infinitive. Its use in Attic also with verbs of swearing and asseveration, with πιστεύω and πέποιθα, helped

[1] Cf. *A.J.P.* XXIII, 138–140.

[2] Cf. in detail Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.* I, "Encroachments of μή on οὐ in Later Greek," and *A.J.P.* XXIII, 132–138, "Problems of Greek Syntax."

[3] Cf. Gildersleeve l.c.: "It is μή that has encroached on οὐ, while οὐ has troubled μή but very little."

[4] Cf. *A.J.P.* XII, 520.

to bewilder the Atticist. In our selections we find μή with infinitive after φημί *Peregr.* 44; after λέγω *Vit. Auct.* 15; *V. H.* B 18; *Pisc.* 35; after εἶπον (instead of ὅτι οὐ and finite verb) in *Peregr.* 18. Also in general oratio obliqua *Somn.* 1 μηκέτι οἰκόσιτος εἶναι, and, if λεγόντων is omitted, *V. H.* B 18.

(*b*) ὅτι (or ὡς) μή (*that*, or *how that, not*) used as a form of oratio obliqua. This seems to be an old tendency renewed, and is compared (Gildersleeve *A.J.P.* I, 52) to Latin quod and subjunctive. Also the legitimate ὅτι μή *except* (e.g. *Somn.* 9) may have had an influence. E.g. *D. Deor.* 7, 4; *Pisc.* 24. Also *D. Mort.* 21, 2 (sc. ἔδοξάς μοι) is explained (op. cit.) as 'quasi *oratio obliqua*' and *Char.* 1 μεμνῆσθαι ὅτι μηδεπώποτε as an imperative complex.

(*c*) Causal μή. In classic Greek οὐ is used in causal sentences. Lucian uses μή with ὅτι, διότι, and ἐπεί. E.g. *D. Mar.* 5, 1; *V. H.* B 32.

(*d*) Relative μή. This is a not unnatural extension. "Even in classic times the negative of a relative clause is μή when the relative gives the notion of characteristic, and as the characteristic sometimes gives a ground, the clause with μή seems to be causal outright. Here the subjective element represented by μή would appear in standard Latin as the subjunctive" (Gildersleeve l.c., p. 54). E.g. *Peregr.* 24 ὅπου μή and 22 ἔνθα μή.

(*e*) Participial μή. — This becomes the regular use in modern Greek for all participles. Some of the examples thought solecistic in Lucian may be justified and the transition from οὐ to μή explained, where the cause and condition, the adversative and concessive, are merged together.

40. *Ionisms.* — The κοινή, though presumably Attic in its origin, had a strong Ionic coloring (e.g. in Polybius and Josephus, cf. Thumb p. 213). In Lucian we find occasional use of Ionic forms. Some of these like οἷ = αὐτῷ are borrowed direct from Ionic. Note also, third plural endings in -αται and -ατο, forms like οἶδας, etc.; omission of the syllabic augment. Many of these had been used by Attic poets, or even in prose;[1] but certain other forms and

[1] See Schmid, III, 14, and for the "Ionic" forms of γίγνομαι see Veitch s. v. On Ionisms in Xenophon see Thumb, p. 215 and 235; and for Xenophon as precursor of the κοινή cf. Thumb, p. 235.

peculiarities, while coinciding with Ionic, may have been developed independently by the κοινή (Schmid, IV, 586).[1]

In addition to these forms something more than one hundred words are used by Lucian which are exclusively Ionic (i.e. Hippocrates, Herodotus, etc.). More than half of these (see Schmid, I, 306) he uses only once each, and often they are used just as he inserts an Epic (Ionic) word here and there to give Homeric coloring. As an elaboration of this trick of style may be mentioned the use of Ionic in the mouths of certain characters, e.g. Pythagoras in *Vit. Auct.*; and finally, to illustrate still further Lucian's conscious use of Ionic for stylistic purposes, may be mentioned his[2] *De Dea Syria* composed in Ionic dialect and in imitation of the style of Herodotus.

Lucian, then, used Ionisms only by exception or with deliberate artistic purpose. He ridicules, on occasion, the Ionizing writers of his day. This form of *inornata oratio*[3] was not, to any appreciable extent, one of his failings.

[1] On the whole subject of Ionic see Smyth's *Greek Dialects* (Ionic) and especially pp. 110 ff. for Pseudo-Ionism.

[2] This is commonly assumed to be spurious, but see above, p. xvi, note 2. Also see note to § 11.

[3] Cf. Quintilian 8, 3, 59. Sunt inornata et haec. . . . Σωρισμὸς (or σαρδισμός, see Schmid, III, p. 13, note) quoque appellatur quaedam mixta ex varia ratione linguarum oratio, ut si Atticis Dorica, Ionica, Aeolica etiam dicta confundas.

THE DREAM OR LIFE OF LUCIAN

INTRODUCTION

The *Somnium* was probably written and delivered when Lucian was about forty years old.[1] It not improbably belongs to the class of *προλαλιαί* or curtain-raisers. These rhetorical prologues were used, at least in some instances,[2] to introduce readings from his satiric writings. This may, or may not, have been the case with the *Somnium*. It is delivered to the Samosatans by their former fellow-citizen, who has returned, well-to-do and famous, on a visit to his native town. It sketches briefly his life thus far and urges the ambitious youth to take him as their pattern in carving out a career.

There is no reason to doubt the credibility of the autobiography as far as it goes, and it is only to be regretted that he did not come back to Samosata forty years later and bring it up to date. Even the vision itself may have been made out of real dream-stuff. Certainly it is "ben trovato"; the imaginative boy, sobbing himself to sleep, thinking always of the roller and the terrible uncle, may have dreamed his own version of that early sermonizing story, "The Choice of Heracles."[3] The trained writer Lucian afterwards makes it a neat enough theme, dresses it up, and, conversant now with Aristophanes, adds reminiscences of the contest

[1] Bolderman (*Studia Lucianea*, 1893), however, puts it before 155 A.D. when Lucian would be about thirty-five. But he certainly speaks as one already secure of his fame.

[2] E.g. his *Herodotus*, *Zeuxis*, *Bacchus*, etc. See above, p. xv.

[3] This, like the *Somnium*, was an *ἐπίδειξις*, cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2, 1, 21 ff., where Socrates repeats this apologue of Prodicus the sophist. Lucian draws details and phraseology from it as far as suits his purpose (see note to § 6), but imprints his own mark upon the narration as a whole.

between the Just and the Unjust Argument in the *Clouds*.[1] The explanation of the uncle's just wrath, as due to jealousy of his precocious pupil, is of Lucian's best, and the long-winded Prodicus fable is freely plundered, happily curtailed, and subordinated to his use.

The latter part of the piece is less felicitous, and this accounts, doubtless, for the divergent[2] estimates which bestow either unstinted praise or uncritical blame upon the *Somnium*. It is not one of Lucian's best works, but has touches of his best manner. This, however, does not prove that it was written very early in his career, for we are jarred in some of his best pieces by a certain stepping out of character when he turns from badinage to invective or from humor to earnest preaching.

His purpose, he says in closing, is to stimulate the young men to choose the better part and to cause them to cling to culture. We need not assume that this is anything but sincere even if the piece was an introduction to his paid readings. This phase of his life as a sophist, a littérateur, a paid lecturer, and, withal, an apostle to the Philistines, should excite at least as little criticism as the public lectures delivered by some distinguished modern writer who has the additional outlet of the facile printing-press. When, however, he speaks of himself as a second Triptolemus we grow a little restive. We feel somewhat patronizing towards both the sowing (*τὸ σπειρόμενον* § 15) and the soil. The benedictions of the crowd below, as he admits elsewhere,[3] were largely the undiscriminating applause of novelty. His hearers were as greedy for "some new thing" as were the Athenians of the preceding century.

[1] Ar. *Nub.* 889 ff.

[2] Heitland (whose lack of sympathy for his author is evident) says on p. xi of his edition : "On a careful examination of the piece I find little in it to praise : . . . the machinery of the dream is clumsy," etc. Yet, he edits it ! Croiset (*Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucien*, p. 3), with his fine French perception of all the Lucianic humor wherever found, overlooks the dull or the pedantic and speaks of his narration as "raconté avec infiniment de grâce."

[3] E.g. *Zeux.* 1 . . . *πάντες ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπεσημαίνοντο, τὴν γνώμην τῶν συγγραμμάτων ξένην οὖσαν καὶ πολὺν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν νεωτερισμόν.* Cf. also *Prom. in Verbis* 1 ff.

Lucian, though literary artist as well as satirist, could not attempt the upper ether,[1] where Shelley's skylark moves at will or the birds of his own Aristophanes sing their clear songs to a Greek —not a Roman—heaven, nor can he follow the chariot of the gods outside the vault of heaven among the supra-sensual *ideas* of Plato; his somewhat grotesque air-ship drawn by the ill-matched pair, high-stepping Dialogue and plunging Comedy,[2] fared unevenly along not far above the ground, now in the fog and now in sunshine, and his "showering song" was the more prosaic seed-corn of a hot-house culture and of common sense, scattered among the gaping throng of quacks and quidnuncs of the second century.

Lucian's attitude in the *Somnium* (§§ 2; 8; 9) towards art excites surprise until we recall the conditions of his time. The allusion to the sculptors Phidias and Polycleitus (§ 9), actually put in the mouth of Culture herself, shows that creative art was at a low ebb. The mere classifying together, however, of artisan and artist[3] is not so contemptuous as it seems. The Greek, like some moderns, was fain to coquet with the impracticable ideal of a consistent democracy, while the inevitable craving for caste distinction was partially provided for by the system of slavery. As a matter of fact Lucian in the *Lie-Fancier*, the *Amores*, the *Imagines*, the *De Domo*, the *Zeuxis*, the *Herodotus*, has other things to say about art, both sculpture and painting, that rank him as no mean art-critic. His brief, incisive description of the Discobolus (*Philops.* 18) shows that he was capable of going even deeper than mere realism and could appreciate also the idealism of a Myron. It has been urged with great probability, that he often had actual

[1] Cf. William Watson, *Shelley's Centenary:*

> But as he cleaves yon ether clear,
> Notes from the unattempted sphere
> He scatters to the enchanted ear
> Of earth's dim throng,
> Whose dissonance doth more endear
> The showering song.

Bis Acc. 33.

[3] See notes to *Somn.* 2, 8. Cf. also Blümner, *Archaeol. Stud. zu Lucian*, p. 88, who cites Plato *Alc. II* 140 B; *Prot.* 312 C, etc.

paintings in mind.[1] Thus many of the word-pictures that form the nucleus and the raison d'être for his *Dialogi Marini*[2] seem to be transferred from another canvas to his own, and the detailed description in the *Zeuxis* of the painting, the Centaur Family, shows more openly how Lucian recognized the ethical element as essential to art, alike the painter's and his own. Perhaps his allusions to Phidias may be put down to the engrafted rhetorician within him. Plato, though a poet by nature, lets his rough watch-dogs in the *Republic* round up the offending poets like sheep for the slaughter. So Lucian in the *Somnium* allows his whilom flame[3] Rhetoric to play the understudy in the bordered robe[4] of Παιδεία, the leading-lady elect of his re-organized dramatic cast.

[1] Cf. Blümner, pp. 69–82.

[2] Cf. Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, p. 340; and Introd. to *D. Deor.* p. 160, note 2.

[3] *Bis Acc.* 27.

[4] Cf. *Somn.* 16 εὐπάρυφός τις.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΥ

ΗΤΟΙ

ΒΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ

1 *Ἄρτι μὲν ἐπεπαύμην εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶν ἤδη τὴν
ἡλικίαν πρόσηβος ὤν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐσκοπεῖτο μετὰ τῶν
φίλων ὅ τι καὶ διδάξαιτό με. τοῖς πλείστοις οὖν ἔδοξε
παιδεία μὲν καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ χρόνου μακροῦ καὶ
δαπάνης οὐ μικρᾶς καὶ τύχης δεῖσθαι λαμπρᾶς, τὰ δ'
ἡμέτερα μικρά τε εἶναι καὶ ταχεῖάν τινα τὴν ἐπικουρίαν
ἀπαιτεῖν· εἰ δέ τινα τέχνην τῶν βαναύσων τούτων ἐκμά-
θοιμι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔχειν τὰ ἀρκοῦντα
παρὰ τῆς τέχνης καὶ μηκέτ' οἰκόσιτος εἶναι τηλικοῦτος ὤν,
οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐφρανεῖν ἀποφέρων ἀεὶ
2 τὸ γιγνόμενον. δευτέρας οὖν σκέψεως ἀρχὴ προὐτέθη, τίς
ἀρίστη τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ῥᾴστη ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρῳ*

Title: see L. & S. s. vv. for attempted distinction between *ἐνύπνιον vision* and *ὄνειρος dream* (dream-god) used as title of another dialogue *Ὄνειρος ἢ Ἀλεκτρυών*.

1. **ἄρτι μὲν . . . ὁ δέ**: parataxis, see Introd. 28. — **πρόσηβος**: not yet an *ἔφηβος* (18–20 years of age). In § 16 he calls himself *ἀντίπαις*. Tr. freely *in my teens*. — **παιδεία**: *an education*, almost "a college education," cf. § 18. — **ταχεῖάν τινα τ. ἐ. ἀ.**: brachylogy, = *τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ ταχεῖά τίς ἐστιν*. Cf. *Char.* 11. For predicate use of adjectives see Introd. 23 (*a*). This favorite use of *τὶς* (quidam), like Eng. *one of your*, becomes a mannerism with Lucian. — **μηκέτ'**: class. usage is *οὐκέτι*. See Introd. 39 (*a*). — **οἰκόσιτος**: *a deadhead*, i.e. not a bread-winner. — **τηλικοῦτος ὤν**: *such a great over-grown fellow as he is*. He was a *βούπαις*. — **οὐκ εἰς μακράν**: *at no distant day*. Litotes. — **τὸ γιγνόμενον**: *income; earnings.*

2. **δευτέρας . . . προὐτέθη**: tr. freely *the next point to be settled was*. — **ἐλευθέρῳ**: *liberali*, almost = "a gentleman born." Cf. Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, p. 189. Lucian is

πρέπουσα καὶ πρόχειρον ἔχουσα τὴν χορηγίαν καὶ διαρκῆ τὸν πόρον. ἄλλου τοίνυν ἄλλην ἐπαινοῦντος, ὡς ἕκαστος γνώμης ἢ ἐμπειρίας εἶχεν, ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὸν θεῖον ἀπιδών — παρῆν γὰρ ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος, ἄριστος ἑρμογλύφος εἶναι δοκῶν λιθοξόος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα εὐδοκίμοις — οὐ θέμις, εἶπεν, ἄλλην τέχνην ἐπικρατεῖν σοῦ παρόντος. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἄγε — δείξας ἐμέ — καὶ δίδασκε παραλαβὼν λίθων ἐργάτην ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ συναρμοστὴν καὶ ἑρμογλυφέα· δύναται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο φύσεώς γε, ὡς οἶσθα, ἔχων δεξιῶς. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ κηροῦ παιδιαῖς· ὁπότε γὰρ ἀφεθείην ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων, ἀποξέων ἂν τὸν κηρὸν ἢ βόας ἢ ἵππους ἢ καὶ νὴ Δί' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπλαττον εἰκότας, ὡς ἐδόκουν τῷ πατρί· ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν διδασκάλων πληγὰς ἐλάμβανον, τότε δὲ ἔπαινος εἰς τὴν εὐφυίαν καὶ ταῦτα

careful to insert this fact while almost boasting that he was *βάρβαρος*. He was a self-made Greek. — **πρόχειρον . . . διαρκῆ** : for pred. adj. see Introd. 23 (*a*). — **χορηγίαν** : *outfit*, i.e. for the *χοροί*. The transfer of meaning is easy. — **πόρον** : *income*, *revenue*. Cf. Eng. *means* for this transferred meaning. — **ὡς . . . εἶχεν** : for the construction cf. below *φύσεως . . . ἔχων δεξιῶς*. Cf. *Symp.* 8 *ὡς ἕκαστος ἀξίας εἶχε*, *each according to his respective rank*. For gen. G. 1092; H. 757 (a); Gl. 507, d; B. 360. — **ἑρμογλύφος** : see Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Hermae," and Gulick, p. 262. To meet the demand for public and private use a statuary might specialize as a Hermae-carver, somewhat as Demetrius was an expert maker of the little models of the Artemis temple (Acts xix, 24). — **λιθοξόος** : for the attitude towards art at this time see Introd. to *Somn.* p. 3. This combination of sculptor and stone-cutter finds parallels in other professions; e.g., the *μάγειρος* was originally both cook and butcher, and in England apothecary and surgeon used to be combined. — **δίδασκε** : see App. The common reading *διδάσκου* would find a parallel in the Eng. prayer-book: "*Learn* me thy ways." — **δεξιῶς** : see above, and cf. *D. Meretr.* 6, 4 *οἱ . . . οὐ πάνυ μορφῆς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντες*. With *δεξιός dexterous*, *clever*, cf. *σκαιός* = Fr. *gauche*, Germ. *linkisch*. — **τοῦ κηροῦ** : *the* wax, i.e. of his writing-tablets. To a Greek schoolboy the transferred meaning was as unambiguous as our *slate*. See Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Tabulae" and, s.v. "Ludus Litterarius," cut of Athenian school; also Gulick, pp. 85 and 111. Also the story of Gorgo and the wax tablets, Hdt. 7, 239. — **βόας** : for form see Introd. 40. — **εἰκότας** : *lifelike*. See App. —

ἦν, καὶ χρηστὰς εἶχον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ
3 μαθήσομαι τὴν τέχνην, ἀπ' ἐκείνης γε τῆς πλαστικῆς. ἅμα
τε οὖν ἐπιτήδειος ἐδόκει ἡμέρα τέχνης ἐνάρχεσθαι, κἀγὼ
παρεδεδόμην τῷ θείῳ μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ σφόδρα τῷ πράγματι ἀχθόμενος, ἀλλά μοι καὶ παιδιάν τινα οὐκ ἀτερπῆ ἐδόκει ἔχειν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐπίδειξιν, εἰ φαινοίμην θεούς τε γλύφων καὶ ἀγαλμάτιά τινα μικρὰ κατασκευάζων ἐμαυτῷ τε κἀκείνοις οἷς προῃρούμην. καὶ τό γε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο καὶ σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐγίγνετο· ἐγκοπέα γάρ τινά μοι δοὺς ὁ θεῖος ἐκέλευσέ μοι ἠρέμα καθικέσθαι πλακὸς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένης, ἐπειπὼν τὸ κοινὸν "ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός." σκληρότερον δὲ κατενεγκόντος ὑπ' ἀπειρίας κατεάγη μὲν ἡ πλάξ, ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας σκυτάλην τινὰ πλησίον κειμένην λαβὼν οὐ πρᾴως οὐδὲ προτρεπτικῶς μου κατήρξατο,

πλαστικῆς: this should be remembered as perhaps an element in Lucian's literary style. There is a reminiscence of Aristophanes's *Clouds* 877 ff., where Socrates is urged by a fond father to matriculate his boy:

ἀμέλει, δίδασκε· θυμόσοφός ἐστιν φύσει·
εὐθύς γέ τοι κτλ.

No matter — teach him — he by nature clever is:
Why, forthwith when a boy, and only just *so* high,
Indoors he'd fashion houses and would carve you ships,
And tiny toy carts out of leather strips would form,
And from pomegranate-peels would make such *pretty* frogs!

3. ἅμα τε . . . ἐδόκει . . . κἀγὼ . . . παρεδεδόμην: cf. Latin simul ac. For parataxis cf. Introd. 28. Cf. *Symp.* 12 *ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεόδημος εἰρήκει καὶ ἐπεισέπαισεν ὁ Κυνικός.* — **ἐπίδειξιν**: *a* (*chance to*) *show off.* The *Somnium* is itself an *ἐπίδειξις* of a different kind; see Introd. to *Somn.* p. 1. — **προῃρούμην**: instead of retaining pres. indic. or changing to opt. according to rule, the impf. indic. is used (as in Eng. indir. disc.). This is not unknown in classic Greek: cf. G. 1489, 1; H. 936. — **ἐπειπὼν τὸ κοινόν**: *adding that hackneyed proverb.* So *Symp.* 12 *ἐκεῖνο τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιχαριεντισάμενος* *making that hackneyed old joke.* — **ἀρχὴ . . . παντός**: *well begun is half done.* This does not occur in Hesiod's extant writings. See Reitz. ad loc., I, p. 174. For Latin form of the proverb cf. Horace *Epist.* 1, 2, 40:

Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet.

— **κατενεγκόντος**: sc. *ἐμοῦ* from context. — **σκυτάλην**: *roller* or *cylinder* for moving the marble slab. The *τινά* gives a touch of technicality. — **κατήρξατο**: initiavit; began to consecrate

4 ὥστε δάκρυά μοι τὰ προοίμια τῆς τέχνης. ἀποδρὰς οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικνοῦμαι συνεχὲς ἀναλύζων καὶ δακρύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπόπλεως, καὶ διηγοῦμαι τὴν σκυτάλην, καὶ τοὺς μώλωπας ἐδείκνυον· καὶ κατηγόρουν πολλήν τινα ὠμότητα, προσθεὶς ὅτι ὑπὸ φθόνου ταῦτα ἔδρασε, μὴ αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλωμαι κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. ἀγανακτησάσης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ λοιδορησαμένης, ἐπεὶ νὺξ ἐπῆλθε, κατέδαρθον ἔτι ἔνδακρυς καὶ τὴν σκυτάλην ἐννοῶν.

5 μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γελάσιμα καὶ μειρακιώδη τὰ εἰρημένα· τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐκέτι εὐκαταφρόνητα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φιληκόων ἀκροατῶν δεόμενα· ἵνα γὰρ καθ' Ὅμηρον εἴπω

θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος
ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα

ἐναργὴς οὕτως, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας· ἔτι γοῦν καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τά τε σχήματά μοι τῶν φανέντων ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παραμένει καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν

me. Cf. the Homeric formula *νώμησεν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενος δεπάεσσιν*, Perrin on *Od.* 7, 183. — **ὥστε**: some word like *γενέσθαι* may be supplied; *εἶναι* might easily have dropped out after *μοι* or *προοίμια*. One Ms. has *ὑπάρχειν*.

4. **συνεχὲς ἀναλύζων**: *sobbing all the while.* For this somewhat rare verb cf. *Peregr.* 6 and see App. — **ἐδείκνυον**: for form see Introd. 14 (*a*). — **ὑπόπλεως**: *pretty well filled.* *ὑπο-* in compounds often means *somewhat*, e.g. *ὑπέρυθρος reddish.* Lucian, however, uses it almost with the effect of understatement, cf. *Tim.* 31 *ὑπόλιθον γήδιον a pretty stony little strip of ground.* In *Icar.* 29 the cumulative contempt for the new denizens of earth — *ὑπόλιχνον, ὑπόμωρον* — leads up to *ὕβρεως ἀνάπλεων full to overflowing.* Cf. Plato *Protag.* (init.) *πώγωνος ἤδη ὑποπιμπλάμενος already with a pretty good crop on his chin.* Also cf. *D. Mar.* 12, 2. — **ὑπὸ φθόνου**: so Daedalus, growing jealous, threw *his* nephew and pupil Talos (or Kalos, Paus. 1, 21, 6) from the Acropolis (see Class. Dict. s.v. "Perdix," and *Pisc.* 42).

5. **ὦ ἄνδρες**: the piece belongs to the *προλαλιαί*; see Introd. to *Somn.* p. 1. Cf. below § 17 *μεταξὺ δὲ λέγοντος* and § 18 sub fin. *πρὸς ὑμᾶς.* — **θεῖός μοι κτλ.**: cf. *Il.* 2, 56 f., Agamemnon's dream. Possibly a pun on 'uncle' (cf. § 6 *οἷος ἦν ὁ θεῖος*) is intended. In *Gall.* 8, however, the words are cited again with unction of the golden dream.

6 ἀκουσθέντων ἔναυλος· οὕτω σαφῆ πάντα ἦν. δύο γυναῖκες
λαβόμεναι ταῖν χεροῖν εἷλκόν με πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἑκατέρα μάλα
βιαίως καὶ καρτερῶς· μικροῦ γοῦν με διεσπάσαντο πρὸς
ἀλλήλας φιλοτιμούμεναι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄρτι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἑτέρα
ἐπεκράτει καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ὅλον εἶχέ με, ἄρτι δ' ἂν αὖθις
ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας εἰχόμην. ἐβόων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἑκατέρα,
ἣ μέν, ὡς αὐτῆς ὄντα με κεκτῆσθαι βούλοιτο, ἣ δέ, ὡς μάτην
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀντιποιοῖτο. ἦν δὲ ἣ μὲν ἐργατικὴ καὶ
ἀνδρικὴ καὶ αὐχμηρὰ τὴν κόμην, τὼ χεῖρε τύλων ἀνά-
πλεως, διεζωσμένη τὴν ἐσθῆτα, τιτάνου καταγέμουσα, οἷος
ἦν ὁ θεῖος ὁπότε ξέοι τοὺς λίθους· ἡ ἑτέρα δὲ μάλα εὐπρό-
σωπος καὶ τὸ σχῆμα εὐπρεπὴς καὶ κόσμιος τὴν ἀναβολήν.
τέλος δ' οὖν ἐφιᾶσί μοι δικάζειν ὁποτέρᾳ βουλοίμην συνεῖ-
ναι αὐτῶν. προτέρα δὲ ἡ σκληρὰ ἐκείνη καὶ ἀνδρώδης ἔλε-
7 ξεν· ἐγώ, φίλε παῖ, Ἑρμογλυφικὴ τέχνη εἰμί, ἣν χθὲς ἤρξω

Cf. "the almighty dollar." — **ἔναυλος** : see L. & S. s.v., B, and cf. *Nigr.* 7 τῆς φωνῆς ὁ ἦχος ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς παραμένει.

6. δύο γυναῖκες : see Introd. to *Somn.* p. 2, and see Xen. *Mem.* 2, 1, 22 for the "Choice of Heracles": καὶ φανῆναι αὐτῷ δύο γυναῖκας κτλ. Cf. throughout how Lucian follows in detail the language of Prodicus (Xenophon) but impresses upon the story his own personality. — **ἂν . . . ἐπεκράτει** : G. 1296; H. 835; Gl. 461 (a); B. 568. — **ἣ μέν . . . ἣ δέ** : are in apposition with ἑκατέρα. The words which they respectively bawled out would be in dir. disc.: τοῦτον βούλει κεκτῆσθαι ὄντα τὸν ἐμόν and σὺ δὲ μάτην τῶν ἀλλοτρίων (or τῶν ἐμῶν) ἀντιποιεῖ. — **αὐχμηρὰ τὴν κόμην** : *with unkempt hair.* — **ἀνάπλεως** : *covered with.* — **διεζωσμένη** : *tucked in the belt*, leaving the hands and shoulders free for work. So Diogenes clears his upper decks for action and rolls along his jar (cf. Sbdt. ad *Hist. Conscr.* 3); διαζωσάμενος τὸ τριβώνιον σπουδῇ μάλα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκύλιε τὸν πίθον. — **ὁπότε ξέοι** : the indef. temporal reflects the boy's frequent observation of his uncle and not simply the experience of yesterday. — **κόσμιος τὴν ἀναβολήν** : *dressed like a gentlewoman.* The set of the mantle (ἱμάτιον) was one of the outward and visible signs of breeding: cf. *Tim.* 54 κόσμιος τὸ βάδισμα καὶ σωφρονικὸς τὴν ἀναβολήν, also *Rhet. Praec.* 16 ἐπιμεληθῆναι χρὴ μάλιστα εὐμόρφου τῆς ἀναβολῆς. — **βουλοίμην** : opt. here justified as used after ἐφιᾶσι (hist. pres.). Cf. G. 1252 and 1268; H. 828; B. 517 (1).

7. φίλε παῖ : the omission of ὦ gives a touch of nervous hurry as contrasted

μανθάνειν, οἰκεία τέ σοι καὶ συγγενὴς οἴκοθεν· ὅ τε γὰρ πάπ-
πος σου — εἰποῦσα τοὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος — λιθοξόος
ἦν καὶ τὼ θείω ἀμφοτέρω καὶ μάλα εὐδοκιμεῖτον δι' ἡμᾶς.
εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις λήρων μὲν καὶ φληνάφων τῶν παρὰ ταύτης
ἀπέχεσθαι — δείξασα τὴν ἑτέραν — ἕπεσθαι δὲ καὶ συνοι-
κεῖν ἐμοί, πρῶτα μὲν θρέψῃ γεννικῶς καὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἕξεις
καρτερούς, φθόνου δὲ παντὸς ἀλλότριος ἔσῃ καὶ οὔποτε ἄπει
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν, τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καταλι-
8 πών· οὐδὲ ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐπαινέσονταί σε πάντες. μὴ μυσα-
χθῇς δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τὸ εὐτελὲς μηδὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὸ
πιναρόν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοιούτων ὁρμώμενος καὶ Φειδίας ἐκεῖνος
ἔδειξε τὸν Δία καὶ Πολύκλειτος τὴν Ἥραν εἰργάσατο καὶ

with the calmer address of Culture § 9 ὦ τέκνον, Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 20. — **λήρων . . . φληνάφων . . . ταύτης**: *her nonsensical chatter* ("stuff and nonsense"). So used of philosophy in *Pisc.* 25 φληνάφους καὶ λήρους ἀποκαλῶν τὰ σά. — **ὤμους ἕξεις καρτερούς**: a reminiscence of Ar. *Nub.* 1009 ff., and the contest between Δίκαιος and Ἄδικος Λόγος:

ἢν ταῦτα ποιῇς, ἁγὼ φράζω,
καὶ πρὸς τούτοις προσέχῃς τὸν νοῦν,
ἕξεις ἀεὶ στῆθος λιπαρόν,
χροιὰν λευκήν, ὤμους μεγάλους,
γλῶτταν βαιάν.

Now if you do this that I advise
And pay besides attention close
You will always possess a sleek oil'd breast,
Complexion fair, your shoulders broad,
And a *tiny* tongue.

— **οὔποτε ἄπει** κτλ.: the "grand tour" still had its terrors for the peasant-minded. Most of the literati from early times had been travelled men — like the pre-Socratic ("Colonial") philosophers, Plato, Herodotus, the Sophists, etc. Cicero went abroad to Rhodes and Athens for his "German University" training. Socrates himself was a notorious exception. — **οὐδὲ ἐπὶ λόγοις . . . πάντες**: sense, "praises you shall have on every hand, but for no mere gift of gab" (cf. γλῶτταν βαιάν in the Aristophanes passage). Allusion is made not only to Lucian's fame as a rhetorician but also to his subsequent career as a writer.

8. **τὸ εὐτελές**: see Introd. 21. — **Φειδίας** κτλ.: for these sculptors see Class. Dict. Phidias, Polycleitus, and Myron were contemporaries (about the middle of the fifth century). For the conventional estimate of the famous Olympian Zeus (τὸν Δία) see *Peregr.* 6. The Hera (τὴν Ἥραν) has a renewed interest since the excavation in 1892, under the direction of the American School, of the Hera head (see *The Argive Heraeum*, pp. 21 ff., by Charles Waldstein). Myron is popularly best known by extant copies (see Fried. Wolters, *Bausteine zur Gesch. der*

Μύρων ἐπῃνέθη καὶ Πραξιτέλης ἐθαυμάσθη· προσκυνοῦνται γοῦν οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν. εἰ δὴ τούτων εἷς γένοιο, πῶς μὲν οὐ κλεινὸς αὐτὸς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δόξεις; ζηλωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀποδείξεις, περίβλεπτον δὲ ἀποφανεῖς καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι τούτων πλείονα διαπταίουσα καὶ βαρβαρίζουσα πάμπολλα εἶπεν ἡ Τέχνη, μάλα δὴ σπουδῇ συνείρουσα καὶ πείθειν με πειρωμένη· ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μέμνημαι· τὰ πλεῖστα γὰρ ἤδη μου τὴν μνήμην διέφυγεν.

9 ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐπαύσατο, ἄρχεται ἡ ἑτέρα ὧδέ πως· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ τέκνον, Παιδεία εἰμὶ ἤδη συνήθης σοι καὶ γνωρίμη, εἰ καὶ μηδέπω εἰς τέλος μου πεπείρασαι. ἡλίκα μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποριῇ λιθοξόος γενόμενος, αὕτη προείρηκεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅτι μὴ ἐργάτης ἔσῃ τῷ σώματι πονῶν κἀν τούτῳ τὴν ἅπασαν ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου τεθειμένος, ἀφανὴς μὲν αὐτὸς ὤν, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῆ λαμβάνων, ταπεινὸς τὴν γνώμην, εὐτελὴς δὲ τὴν πρόοδον, οὔτε φίλοις ἐπιδικάσιμος οὔτε ἐχθροῖς φοβερὸς οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις ζηλωτός, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐργάτης καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς, ἀεὶ τὸν προὔχοντα ὑποπτήσσων

Griech.-Röm. Plastik, pp. 191 ff.) of his bronze Discobolus which is described by Lucian himself (*Philops.* 18). This and his bronze cow, that stood lowing in the Agora at Athens, were the wonder of the Greeks, who applied to his works the epithet ἔμπνους. Praxiteles flourished about a century later. The only extant work known to be from his hand is the Hermes, with the infant Dionysus on his arm, discovered at Olympia by the Germans in 1877. The Cnidian Aphrodite, his most famous work in antiquity, is described at length by Lucian (*Imagg.* 4 and *Amores* 11 ff.; and see Wolters, op. cit., No. 1215). Hawthorne's "Marble Faun" was only a copy. — **βαρβαρίζουσα**: Lucian likes to remind us of this. Cf. supra § 2. — **σπουδῇ συνείρουσα**: *stringing* (her words) *together in great haste.* Cf. Dem. 328, 12 λόγους συνείρει . . . ἀπνευστεί. — **ὧδέ πως**: *about like this; words to this effect.*

9. **ὅτι μή**: *except.* Regular classic usage, see Introd. 39 (*b*). — **τεθειμένος**: the pf. tense denotes the hopelessly ingrained habit of life. See Introd. 34 (*a*). — **αὐτὸ μόνον**: *merely this.* Cf. *Char.* 6. — **τῶν . . . εἷς**: cf. § 8 εἰ δὴ τούτων εἷς γένοιο, *Saturnalia* 2 ἰδιώτης εὐθύς εἰμι καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς, and *Apol.* 15 ἀλλά τῳ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου. See App. Sbdt. reads εἰς ἀεί, *for all time.* — **ἀεί**: *always; on each occasion.* It may be construed with both

καὶ τὸν λέγειν δυνάμενον θεραπεύων, λαγὼ βίον ζῶν καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἕρμαιον ὤν· εἰ δὲ καὶ Φειδίας ἢ Πολύκλειτος γένοιο καὶ πολλὰ θαυμαστὰ ἐξεργάσαιο, τὴν μὲν τέχνην ἅπαντες ἐπαινέσονται, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὅστις τῶν ἰδόντων, εἰ νοῦν ἔχει, εὔξαιτ' ἂν ὅμοιός σοι γενέσθαι· οἷος γὰρ ἂν ᾖς, βάναυσος καὶ χειρῶναξ καὶ ἀποχειροβίωτος νομισθήσῃ.

10 ἢν δ' ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, πρῶτον μέν σοι πολλὰ ἐπιδείξω παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα, καὶ πράξεις θαυμαστὰς καὶ λόγους αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσα καὶ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔμπειρον ἀποφαίνουσα, καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ὅπερ σοι κυριώτατόν ἐστι, κατακοσμήσω πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς κοσμήμασι, σωφροσύνῃ, δικαιοσύνῃ, εὐσεβείᾳ, πρᾳότητι, ἐπιεικείᾳ, συνέσει, καρτερίᾳ, τῷ τῶν καλῶν ἔρωτι, τῇ πρὸς τὰ σεμνότατα ὁρμῇ· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκήρατος ὡς ἀληθῶς κόσμος. λήσει δέ σε οὔτε παλαιὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν γενέσθαι δέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προόψει μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντα ὁπόσα ἐστί, τά τε θεῖα τά τ' ἀνθρώπινα, οὐκ εἰς μακράν σε διδάξομαι.

11 καὶ ὁ νῦν πένης ὁ τοῦ δεῖνος, ὁ βουλευσάμενός τι περὶ ἀγεννοῦς οὕτω τέχνης, μετ' ὀλίγον ἅπασι ζηλωτὸς καὶ ἐπίφθονος ἔσῃ, τιμώμενος καὶ ἐπαινούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις

participles: *always ready to crouch down before the man of prominence and to fawn upon the clever spokesman.* See App. — **λαγὼ βίον ζῶν**: proverbial; cf. Eng. "living a dog's life," and cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 263 λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς κτλ., also see Hdt. 3, 108 ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ πάντων θηρεύεται καὶ θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου. — **ἕρμαιον**: *a godsend.* Possibly a fling at her rival Ἑρμογλυφική. — **βάναυσος**: *mechanic.* Cf. *Jupp. Conf.* 8 ὁ Ἥφαιστος δὲ χωλός ἐστι καὶ βάναυσός τις καὶ πυρίτης τὴν τέχνην.

10. παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν: *of* (*the*) *old worthies.* — **ὡς εἰπεῖν**: const. with πάντων. — **κυριώτατον**: *supreme.* Cf. Plato *Rep.* 565 A ὃ δὴ . . . κυριώτατον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ. For the thought cf. the prayer of Socrates, Plato *Phaedr.* 279 B, καλῷ γενέσθαι τἄνδοθεν, whence Whittier (*My Namesake*):

> I pray the prayer of Plato old,
> God make thee beautiful within.

— **σωφροσύνῃ** κτλ.: the conventional list of the philosopher's virtues. — **διδάξομαι**: mid. for act. See App. on § 2.

11. τοῦ δεῖνος: *son of Mr. What-d'ye-call-him.* — **ζηλωτὸς καὶ ἐπίφθονος**: *exciting envy and jealousy.* Less suited to the context would be *emulated*

εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προὐχόντων ἀποβλε-
πόμενος, ἐσθῆτα μὲν τοιαύτην ἀμπεχόμενος — δείξασα τὴν
ἑαυτῆς· πάνυ δὲ λαμπρὰν ἐφόρει — ἀρχῆς δὲ καὶ προεδρίας
ἀξιούμενος· κἂν που ἀποδημῇς, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς
ἀγνὼς καὶ ἀφανὴς ἔσῃ· τοιαῦτά σοι περιθήσω τὰ γνωρί-
σματα, ὥστε τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον κινήσας
12 δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ "οὗτος ἐκεῖνος" λέγων. ἂν δέ τι
σπουδῆς ἄξιον ᾖ τοὺς φίλους ἢ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατα-
λαμβάνῃ, εἰς σὲ πάντες ἀποβλέψονται· κἂν πού τι λέγων
τύχῃς, κεχηνότες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀκούσονται, θαυμάζοντες καὶ
εὐδαιμονίζοντες καὶ σὲ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸν
πατέρα τῆς εὐπαιδίας· ὃ δὲ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἀθάνατοι
γίγνονταί τινες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτό σοι περιποιήσω· καὶ
γὰρ ἢν αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπέλθῃς, οὔποτε παύσῃ συνὼν
τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις καὶ προσομιλῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις. ὁρᾷς

and envied. — **ἐφόρει**: distinguish from φέρω, see L. & S. s.v., 1 and 2. Cf. Lat. gesto and gero. — **ἀρχῆς**: *office.* Lucian himself (later) held office under the Roman government. See Introd. 4. — **προεδρίας**: four classes of persons were honored with front seats at the games, public assemblies, or theatres, viz. priests and priestesses, certain magistrates, foreign envoys, citizen benefactors. Often exemption (ἀτέλεια) from civic burdens was included: cf. Hicks, *Gr. Inscr.* 99 . . . δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προεδρίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων. For a list of the occupants of the marble θρόνοι in the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens see Harrison & Verrall, *Mythol. and Monuments of Anc. Athens* 274. — **τὸν πλησίον κινήσας**: *nudging his fellow.* — **δείξει . . . οὗτος ἐκεῖνος**: in another προλαλιά, i.e. *Herod.* 2, Lucian thus indicates the fame of the "Father of History": εἴ πού γε φανείη μόνον, ἐδείκνυτο ἂν τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος Ἡρόδοτός ἐστιν, ὁ τὰς μάχας τὰς Περσικὰς Ἰαστὶ συγγεγραφώς. Cf. Persius *Sat.* 1, 28 At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier "Hic est."

12. ἂν δέ τι σπουδῆς . . . καταλαμβάνῃ: *if something serious shall befall.* Not *necessarily* a misfortune; an occasion of rejoicing also would call for an orator. — **τοῦτό σοι περιποιήσω**: *this I will make good in your case.* — **αὐτὸς . . . ἀπέλθῃς**: *you,* in contrast with his writings. Heitland well compares *Pisc.* 6 τοῖς λόγοις οὓς καταλελοίπατε ὁμιλῶν. The thought is not, as συνών might suggest, the communion with the "mighty dead," as it is in Plato *Apol.* 41 A. — **τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις**: *the*

τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐκεῖνον, τίνος υἱὸν ὄντα ἐγὼ ἡλίκον ἐποίησα; ὁρᾷς τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ὃς τυμπανιστρίας υἱὸς ἦν, ὅπως αὐτὸν δι' ἐμὲ Φίλιππος ἐθεράπευσεν; ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῇ Ἑρμογλυφικῇ ταύτῃ τραφεὶς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνῆκε τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ δραπετεύσας παρ' αὐτῆς ηὐτομόλησεν ὡς
13 ἐμέ, ἀκούεις ὡς παρὰ πάντων ᾄδεται. ἀφεὶς δὲ σὺ τοὺς τηλικούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἄνδρας καὶ πράξεις λαμπρὰς καὶ λόγους σεμνοὺς καὶ σχῆμα εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ προεδρίας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνέσει εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι χιτώνιόν τι πιναρὸν ἐνδύσῃ καὶ σχῆμα δουλοπρεπὲς ἀναλήψῃ καὶ μοχλία καὶ γλυφεῖα καὶ κοπέας καὶ κολαπτῆρας ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν ἕξεις κάτω νενευκὼς εἰς τὸ ἔργον, χαμαιπετὴς καὶ χαμαίζηλος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ταπεινός, ἀνακύπτων δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲ ἀνδρῶδες οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερον οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔργα ὅπως εὔρυθμα καὶ εὐσχήμονα ἔσται σοι προνοῶν, ὅπως δὲ αὐτὸς εὔρυθμος καὶ κόσμιος ἔσῃ, ἥκιστα

well-educated. Note tense, Introd. 34 (*a*). — **Δημοσθένην . . . τίνος υἱόν**: it suits Paideia to belittle Demosthenes's father as "in trade." — **τίνος . . . ἡλίκον**: the double interr., so awkward in English, gives in itself a flavor of Demosthenes. Cf. the old squib:

A libel tells us, if we follow Hume,
How, when, and where who did what wrong to whom.

Cf. *Vit. Auct.* 4 εἴσεαι . . . ὁκοῖα ἐόντα μορφὴν ὄκως κινέονται. — **τυμπανιστρίας**: Demosthenes thus taunts Aeschines, *de Cor.* § 284. — **ἐθεράπευσεν**: *courted; cultivated.* — **Σωκράτης . . . τραφείς**: his father Sophroniscus was a sculptor. For the group of the Three Graces, attributed to Socrates, cf. Paus. 1, 22, 8, and Harrison & Verrall, *Mythol. and Monuments of Anc. Athens*, p. 375. — **ὑπὸ τῇ Ἑρμογλυφικῇ**: for ὑπό c. dat. see Introd. 25.

13. μοχλία κτλ.: *levers, burins, chisels, and gravers.* — **νενευκώς**: note tense, *round-shouldered.* — **χαμαιπετὴς καὶ χαμαίζηλος**: *a grovelling groundling.* The anaphora of χαμαι- is forcible. — **αὐτὸς εὔρυθμος . . .**: cf. *Pisc.* 30 εἴ τις πρὸς τούτους (τοὺς κάνονας) ῥυθμίζοι καὶ ἀπευθύνοι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον. For the thought cf. Whittier (*My Namesake*):

Life made by duty epical
And rhythmic with the truth.

For the antithesis cf. Mrs. Browning (*Lady Geraldine*):

Little thinking if we work our souls as nobly as our iron.

14 πεφροντικώς, ἀλλ' ἀτιμότερον ποιῶν σεαυτὸν λίθων. ταῦτα
ἔτι λεγούσης αὐτῆς οὐ περιμείνας ἐγὼ τὸ τέλος τῶν λόγων
ἀναστὰς ἀπεφηνάμην, καὶ τὴν ἄμορφον ἐκείνην καὶ ἐργατι-
κὴν ἀπολιπὼν μετέβαινον πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν μάλα γεγηθώς,
καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεί μοι εἰς νοῦν ἦλθεν ἡ σκυτάλη καὶ ὅτι
πληγὰς εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀρχομένῳ μοι χθὲς ἐνετρίψατο. ἡ
δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖσα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠγανάκτει καὶ τὼ χεῖρε
συνεκρότει καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐνέπριε· τέλος δέ, ὥσπερ τὴν
Νιόβην ἀκούομεν, ἐπεπήγει καὶ εἰς λίθον μετεβέβλητο. εἰ
δὲ παράδοξα ἔπαθε, μὴ ἀπιστήσητε· θαυματοποιοὶ γὰρ οἱ
15 ὄνειροι. ἡ ἑτέρα δὲ πρός με ἀπιδοῦσα, Τοιγαροῦν ἀμείψομαί
σε. ἔφη, τῆσδε τῆς δικαιοσύνης, [ὅτι καλῶς τὴν δίκην ἐδί-
κασας.] καὶ ἐλθὲ ἤδη, ἐπίβηθι τούτου τοῦ ὀχήματος — δεί-
ξασά τι ὄχημα ὑπόπτερον ἵππων τινῶν τῷ Πηγάσῳ ἐοικότων
— ὅπως εἰδῇς οἷα καὶ ἡλίκα μὴ ἀκολουθήσας ἐμοὶ ἀγνοή-
σειν ἔμελλες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνῆλθον, ἡ μὲν ἤλαυνε καὶ ὑφηνιόχει,
ἀρθεὶς δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐγὼ ἐπεσκόπουν ἀπὸ τῆς ἕω ἀρξάμενος
ἄχρι πρὸς τὰ ἑσπέρια πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ δήμους, καθάπερ

— **πεφροντικώς**: note tense, *making it a subject of meditation*; cf. *Char.* 15 κεχηνότας αὐτοὺς ἀπολιποῦσαι *leaving them all agape*; see Introd. 34 (*a*).

14. ἀπεφηνάμην: *declared myself*; used absolutely without γνώμην or δόξαν. — **ἐνετρίψατο**: sc. as subject ἡ ἄμορφος ἐκείνη καὶ ἐργ. rather than ἡ σκυτάλη. — **ἠγανάκτει**: *was sulky*. Cf. *Symp.* 42. — **συνεκρότει**: *kept smiting* her two hands *together*. In Xen. *Cyr.* 2, 2, 5, however, it is used in the Eng. sense *clap*: συνεκρότησε τὼ χεῖρε καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ηὐφραίνετο. — **ἐπεπήγει . . . μετεβέβλητο**: note tense; *and* (*before you knew it*) *was perfectly rigid and was metamorphosed into marble*. See Introd. 34 (*a*). — **θαυματοποιοί**: const. as subst., *jugglers*.

15. ὅτι . . . ἐδίκασας: an otiose expansion of δικαιοσύνης. See App. — **ὄχημα ὑπόπτερον**: see App. Cf. *Pisc.* 22 πτηνὸν ἅρμα *winged chariot*, a reminiscence of Plato *Phaedr.* 246 E where ἅρμα = *chariot and horses*; so ὄχημα here, like the use in United States of *team* = *carriage and horses*. — **ἤλαυνε καὶ ὑφηνιόχει**: a conventional expression; cf. *V.H.* B 45 ἤλαυνόν τε καὶ ἡνιόχουν. — **ἀρθεὶς δὲ εἰς ὕψος**: Lucian is fond of these aerial excursions; cf. *V.H.* A 9; *Icar.* 11; *Bis Acc.* 8; *Fugit.* 25; and the compound verb ἐπεσκόπουν (emended, however, to the simple

ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἀποσπείρων τι ἐς τὴν γῆν. οὐκέτι μέντοι
μέμνημαι ὅ τι τὸ σπειρόμενον ἐκεῖνο ἦν, πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον,
ὅτι κάτωθεν ἀφορῶντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπῄνουν καὶ μετ' εὐφη-
16 μίας καθ' οὓς γενοίμην τῇ πτήσει παρέπεμπον. δείξασα
δέ μοι τὰ τοσαῦτα κἀμὲ τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐκείνοις ἐπανήγαγεν
αὖθις οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐκείνην ἐνδεδυκότα ἣν εἶχον
ἀφιπτάμενος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκουν εὐπάρυφός τις ἐπανήκειν.
καταλαβοῦσα οὖν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἑστῶτα καὶ περιμένοντα
ἐδείκνυεν αὐτῷ ἐκείνη τὴν ἐσθῆτα κἀμέ, οἷος ἥκοιμι, καί τι
καὶ ὑπέμνησεν οἷα μικροῦ δεῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐβουλεύσαντο.
ταῦτα μέμνημαι ἰδὼν ἀντίπαις ἔτι ὤν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐκτα-
17 ραχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν τῶν πληγῶν φόβον. μεταξὺ δὲ λέγοντος,
Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη τις, ὡς μακρὸν τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ δικανικόν.
εἶτ' ἄλλος ὑπέκρουσε, Χειμερινὸς ὄνειρος, ὅτε μήκισταί
εἰσιν αἱ νύκτες, ἢ τάχα που τριέσπερος, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς,
καὶ αὐτός ἐστι. τί δ' οὖν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ ληρῆσαι ταῦτα

verb by Sbdt.) recalls the cyclorama of Χάρων ἢ Ἐπισκοποῦντες. — **Τριπτόλεμος**: the favorite of Demeter, who, from the flying chariot provided by the goddess, distributed the seed-corn to men. — **τὸ σπειρόμενον**: here, as elsewhere, Lucian claims to be a missionary of culture; cf. § 18. — **καθ' οὓς**: *over against whom.* L. & S. s.v., B, I, 3; cf. Xen. *Anab.* 4, 3, 17 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ (*opposite*) τὴν διάβασιν and *V.H.* B 1 διορύξασι κατὰ (*at*) τὸν δεξιὸν τοῖχον.

16. **ἐνδεδυκότα**: *clad in.* See Introd. 34 (*a*). — **εὐπάρυφός τις**: *one of your grandees.* For samples of these παρυφαί see Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Dress," and cf. L. & S. s. vv. λευκοπάρυφος, φοινικοπάρυφος, χρυσοπάρυφος. — **ἐδείκνυεν**: for form see Introd. 14 (*a*). — **ἐκείνη**: i.e. ἡ παιδεία, but see App. — **καί τι καὶ ὑπέμνησεν**: *and even jogged his memory a little.* — **οἷα . . . ἐβουλεύσαντο**: *as to what plans they had all but made.* — **ἐκταραχθείς**: note prep., *scared out of my senses.* — **πρὸς τὸν . . . φόβον**: see L. & S. s.v. πρός C, III, 2.

17. **μεταξύ**: adv.; cf. *Icar.* 24 μεταξύ τε προιὼν ἀνέκρινε, *while going forward he kept asking.* With λέγοντος sc. ἐμοῦ. — **Ἡράκλεις**: for omission of ὦ see note on § 7. — **δικανικόν**: *lawyer-like; circumstantial; tiresome.* Lucian had been a lawyer. — **ὅτε . . . νύκτες**: tr. freely "a winter's dream — yes, a midwinter-night's dream." Sbdt. would omit these apparently redundant words, but they may be justified as a specific reference to the *bruma*, i.e. *the longest of midwinter nights.* — **τριέσπερος**; for the allusion see *D.*

πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ μνησθῆναι παιδικῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ὀνείρων παλαιῶν καὶ γεγηρακότων; ἕωλος γὰρ ἡ ψυχρολογία· μὴ ὀνείρων ὑποκριτάς τινας ἡμᾶς ὑπείληφεν; Οὔκ, ὠγαθέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ποτε διηγούμενος τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα—ἴστε γάρ—οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν τὴν ὄψιν οὐδ' ὡς φλυαρεῖν ἐγνωκὼς αὐτὰ διεξῄει, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ μάχῃ καὶ ἀπογνώσει πραγμάτων, περιεστώτων πολεμίων, ἀλλά τι καὶ χρήσιμον εἶχεν ἡ διή-
18 γησις. καὶ τοίνυν κἀγὼ τοῦτον τὸν ὄνειρον ὑμῖν διηγησάμην ἐκείνου ἕνεκα, ὅπως οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ βελτίω τρέπωνται καὶ παιδείας ἔχωνται, καὶ μάλιστα, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πενίας ἐθελοκακεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἥττω ἀποκλίνει φύσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῆ διαφθείρων· ἐπιρρωσθήσεται εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κἀκεῖνος ἀκούσας τοῦ μύθου, ἱκανὸν ἑαυτῷ παράδειγμα ἐμὲ προστησάμενος, ἐννοῶν οἷος μὲν ὢν πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα ὥρμησα καὶ παιδείας ἐπεθύμησα μηδὲν ἀποδειλιάσας πρὸς τὴν πενίαν τὴν τότε, οἷος δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπανελήλυθα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, οὐδενὸς γοῦν τῶν λιθογλύφων ἀδοξότερος.

Deor. 10. — **γεγηρακότων**: *superannuated.* — **ἕωλος**: *left over till the morrow; stale.* — **ψυχρολογία**: tr. "such frigid wit." — **ὁ Ξενοφῶν ποτε διηγούμενος . . .**: cf. Xen. *Anab.* 3, 1, 11 ff., *εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσα.* Lucian's audience could be depended upon to supply the well-known story — *τὰ ἄλλα* — without the specific details. See App. Xenophon, however, as a matter of fact did not mention his dream *ἐν πολέμῳ . . . περιεστώτων πολεμίων*, but wrote it down at his leisure subsequently. — **ὑπόκρισιν**: the words above, *ὀνείρων ὑποκριτάς*, suggest the tr., *as matter for interpretation*, otherwise the usual meaning, *declamation*, might be retained. — **οὐδ' ὡς . . . ἐγνωκώς**: *nor yet as resolved to jest.* Cf. Thuc. 1, 43 *γνόντες τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν καιρόν.*

18. καὶ τοίνυν *κτλ.*: this, although stilted, must be taken in good faith; so, too, in *Pisc.* 52 we have a serious declaration of his mission: "crown the true, brand the shams." — **μηδὲν ἀποδειλιάσας**: for *οὐδὲν ἀποδειλιάσας.* See Introd. 39 (*e*). — **πρός**: see § 16. — **οὐδενὸς γοῦν . . . ἀδοξότερος**: *at any rate, no less famous than any stone-carver of them all.* Confident understatement.

CHARON

INTRODUCTION

Comes the blind Fury with the abhorrèd shears,
And slits the thin-spun life.
MILTON, *Lycidas*.

See you nought
That young man that hath shoon bought
And strong leather to do them clout
And grease to smear them round about?
He weeneth to live them to wear:
But by my soul I dare well swear
His wretched life he shall forlet
Ere he be come to his own gate.
Merlin Legend.

The theme of the *Charon* is an oft-repeated one — the sudden reversal of fortune, the relentlessness of fate. But on Lucian's page it is as new [1] as disappointment has ever been to every man. The piece is full of his best humor; it is cynical yet serious, and is in his most dramatic style. Not only are the chief characters, Hermes and Charon, living and real, but so are Croesus and Solon as we listen to their tête-à-tête. All the scenes move as clearly before us as they do before Charon's eyes, newly anointed with Homeric eyesalve.

The structure of the piece is simple. Charon has leave of absence from his ferry for a day. Hermes meets him before a house in an Athenian street (or, possibly, in Rome) laughing over

[1] For the question of an imitation of some satire of Menippus, cf. Bolderman, *Stud. Luc.*, p. 89: Fortasse Charon ad quoddam Menippi exemplum compositus est, qui tam saepe fabulas a deis inferis agi finxit, sed quia documenta absunt, litem dirimere non audeo.

a man who is prevented by sudden death,[1] due to a falling tile, from keeping a dinner engagement. This is the key-note to the whole, but the explanation of his amusement is artistically postponed until later, when Hermes, persuaded with difficulty to act as cicerone, has piled up mountain upon mountain and proceeds to give to his "personally conducted" partner in business all that can be seen or known in a single day of men and manners of the sixth-century world outspread before them. The samples suffice. With his laughter changed to the indignation of a seer, Charon at the end returns to his business convinced of men's folly in busying themselves about gold and boundaries and the being bidden to dinner, seeing that soon his boat shall bring them "to that wide port where all are bidden."[2] Thus extremes meet — Cynicism[3] and the new Christian undervaluing of things temporal balanced against things eternal. In the *Dialogues of the Dead* the bitterness and cynicism of Lucian come uppermost, but in the *Charon* there is more of the helpless pathos of human life that Aeschylus

[1] Cf. Juvenal *Sat.* 3, 261 ff., where the household, unconscious of the tragedy of the master's sudden death,

> . . . interea secura patellas
> Iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
> Strigilibus et pleno componit lintea gutto!
> Haec inter pueros varie properantur: at ille
> Iam sedet in ripa tetrumque novicius horret
> Porthmea.

And Tennyson, *In Memoriam*:

> And, even when she turned, the curse
> Had fallen, and her future lord
> Was drowned in passing thro' the ford,
> Or killed in falling from his horse.

Cf. also in connexion with the context the citation of Virgil *Aen.* 11, 49–52, in W. P. Mustard's *Classical Echoes in Tennyson*, pp. 103–104.

[2] Michael Angelo, *Sonnet to Giorgio Vasari* (tr. by J. A. Symonds): cf. Aesch. *Septem* 860 πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

[3] Cf. Bolderman's list (p. 133) of the dialogues in quibus Cynicorum doctrina cernitur.

has sketched in lines that "Time's effacing fingers" have not marred:

> O life of mortal men! while that it fareth well
> 'T is like a painting sketched; but, comes adversity,
> The wet sponge, blurring, touches and the picture's gone![1]

The dialogue is full of humor, but this, like a fitful glare reflected in the night, only lights the way to the grim verities of Pluto's realm.[2] We forget Lucian's open scepticism and his mocking at current creeds, and we catch ourselves trying to fit this *memento mori* into the inherited mosaic of mediaeval Christianity rather than seeking to patch his Cynic's rags upon the changeable taffeta of his attempted Hedonism or the more durable fabric of the imperial Stoic's decent robe.

Over our heads float the Moirae. Clearly now we see the slender threads by which we dangle from their spindle. Clearly we see the shadowy phantoms with which they mock us: hopes, fears, ambitions, jealousy, wrath, and covetousness. Chilling, in spite of its comic reminiscence, falls upon our ears the swift résumé at the end: "Lord! what fools these mortals be! Kings, golden ingots, funeral rites, battles, but never a word about Charon!" — and we ourselves mechanically follow Charon to the ferry, our laughter, like his, turned into disappointed wonder at life's swift change from joy to sorrow.

The character of Charon of the true Greek type is constant as the "Ferryman." He is depicted, now with flowing beard, old and dignified as the Lord of the Admiralty, Poseidon himself, now younger and rougher with a stubby beard and a workman's short

[1] *Agam.* 1327 ff.: Cassandra as she goes in to her doom speaks:

> *ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ᾽· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν*
> *σκιᾷ τις ἂν πρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ,*
> *βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.*

[2] Cf. Croiset, pp. 169 ff.: "on n'y (i.e. in Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius) trouvera rien en ce genre qui fasse plus d'impression que certains passages des écrits de Lucien."

ἐξωμίς leaving the right shoulder bare for plying his pole.[1] He is never the figure of terror of the Italian types.[1] Representations in art are not infrequent; as on the λήκυθοι which were buried with the dead.[2]

It is thought that the conception of the "ferryman" grew out of the custom of burying the dead on the other side of a river or lake. This was not confined to the Egyptians,[3] but seems to have been *de rigueur* in various parts of Greece itself.[4] Virgil's Charon (*Aen.* 6, 298) retains this conception, but the type reverts rather to the distorted Etruscan demon of death (called *Charun*) with flaming eyes, pointed wolf-ears, and grin of horror, swinging his hammer or an oar. To him, through Virgil, Dante's Charon traces his pedigree:

> . . . the ferryman of the livid fen,
> Who round about his eyes had wheels of flame.
> . . . .
> Charon the demon, with the eyes of glede
> . . . .
> Beats with his oar whoever lags behind.[5]

This Etruscan demon was even pressed into service for the masked figure who, between the contests in the amphitheatre, dragged off the corpses of the fallen gladiators. This belongs to the conception, differing from the ancient Greek, which does not confine Charon's sphere of influence to a ferry-boat, but, ignoring Hermes's function as ψυχοπομπός, makes Charon the messenger of Death or identifies him with Death himself.

In the classic Greek Charon first appears in the post-Homeric *Minyad*,[6] though his running-mate, Hermes, appears as ψυχοπομπός in the last book of the *Odyssey*.

[1] See illustrations, s.v. "Charon," in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*. And in Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. "Charon," see cuts from Italian funeral urns. In one, Charon, with a large hammer, leads a horse upon which rides the dead man.

[2] Cf. Ar. *Eccles.* 996 ὃς τοῖς νεκροῖσι ζωγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους.

[3] See Diod. Sicul. 1, 92 and 96.

[4] Chalcis in Euboea, and Delos; see Baumeister, l.c.

[5] *Div. Com.*, Canto III (Longfellow's translation).

[6] Cf. Paus. 10, 28, 2, and Frazer's note ad loc., and the restoration of Polygnotus's picture with Charon's boat.

In the *Septem* of Aeschylus the boat is mentioned, though Charon is not, and the mourners' arms that beat the air are the oar-strokes which make "the dark-sailed, unchartered mission-ship, upon whose deck Apollo treads not and the sunlight falls not, through Acheron to pass unto that shore unseen where all must lodging find." In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes Charon, with his: "ὠόπ! bring her alongside!" and his orders to Dionysus, treads his quarter-deck undisputed, and in Euripides we find him imperious, urgent, unrelieved by any comic humor. Alcestis, parting prematurely for Hades, exclaims:

> I see, I see the two-oar'd skiff, the ferryman
> Of the dead, Charon with hand on pole thus calleth me:
> "Why dost thou loiter? Hasten! Thou 'rt delaying us."
> With words like these in angry haste he urgeth me.

In the poets after Aeschylus he is often mentioned thus as calling[1] to embark. In the Anthology he appears frequently. In the Attic theatre he became a familiar bit of stage-property, and "Charon's stairs" now swept down to the water's edge of the *canali morti* to receive any furloughed ghosts returning in the ferryman's gondola.[2]

In addition to the representations of Charon on the oil-flasks, on scarabs, etc., there was a painting by Polygnotus which, as Pausanias thought, drew its details from the *Minyad*. (See the last note on the preceding page.)

From all this Lucian drew his type of Charon. Here and in the *Cataplus* and in the *Dialogues of the Dead* he incises the lines that are to reappear again and again in modern literature, as in Hans Sachs's *Die Himmelfahrt Margraff Albrechtz*.[3] It is curious that in

[1] Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 606: ὁ Χάρων σε καλεῖ,
σὺ δὲ κωλύεις ἀνάγεσθαι.

[2] For conventional shape of Charon's boat see illustrations ll.cc.

[3] E.g. here is Lucian *resartus:*

> Da sagt zu im Caron: "Du solt
> Nit tretten in das schiff zu mir,
> Bis du geleget hast von dir
> All unart, sünd und untugent."

modern Greek, while occasionally Charon is "still to be met with as the ferryman of the classic type,"[1] it is the other conception that usually prevails. In Goethe's *Neugriechisch-Epirotische Heldenlieder* he is a horseman that rides through the clouds, driving the young before him and dragging the old behind him, a string of sucklings at his saddle-bow:

> Die Jüngsten aber, Säuglinge
> In Reih gehängt am Sattel.

But in both types Charon is as *inexorabilis*, *ineluctabilis*, as Death in the Morality play: "No, Everyman, it may not be!"

[1] Cf. B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 222 f., and Frazer's *Pausanias* V, p. 373.

ΧΑΡΩΝ Η ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ

ΕΡΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΩΝ

1 ΕΡΜ. Τί γελᾷς, ὦ Χάρων; ἢ τί τὸ πορθμεῖον ἀπολιπὼν δεῦρο ἀνελήλυθας ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν οὐ πάνυ εἰωθὼς ἐπιχωριάζειν τοῖς ἄνω πράγμασιν;

ΧΑΡ. Ἐπεθύμησα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἰδεῖν ὁποῖά ἐστι τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἃ πράττουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τίνων στερόμενοι πάντες οἰμώζουσι κατιόντες παρ' ἡμᾶς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀδακρυτὶ διέπλευσεν. αἰτησάμενος οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἅιδου καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐκεῖνος νεανίσκος μίαν ἡμέραν λειπόνεως γενέσθαι ἀνελήλυθα ἐς τὸ φῶς, καί μοι δοκῶ ἐς δέον ἐντετυχηκέναι σοι· ξεναγήσεις γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι με ξυμπερινοστῶν καὶ δείξεις ἕκαστα ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς ἅπαντα.

Title: the second part of the title is justified by the first sections of the piece, cf. especially § 5 *σὺ δὲ . . . ἐπισκόπει ἅπαντα.* Tr. *ἐπισκοποῦντες* as *Inspectors;* the Lat. tr. (Reitz.) contemplantes is inadequate. For the thought cf. *Hermot.* 5, where the philosopher's outlook on his fellow-man is described *οἷον μύρμηκας ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἐπισκοποῦντές τινας τοὺς ἄλλους.*

1. διέπλευσεν: gnomic aor. See Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 255. — **αἰτησάμενος . . . Ἅιδου**: cf. *Pisc.* 4 *παραιτησάμενος . . . τὸν Ἅιδην.* — **ὁ Θετταλός**: i.e. Protesilaus. Cf. Wordsworth's *Laodamia*, and see *D. Mort.* 23. — **λειπόνεως** (L. & S. s.v. *λιπόναυς*): cf. Browning's "fleet-fugitive" (Aesch. *Agam.* 212). Hermes at the ferry (*Catapl.* 3), describing his chase after a runaway corpse, tells Charon how *ὀλίγου δεῖν λειπόνεως ὑμῖν τήμερον ἐγενόμην.* — **ξεναγήσεις**: *you'll show me the lions*; cf. *D. Mort.* 18, 1, and cf. Plato *Phaedr.* 230 c, where Socrates excites wonder as being in need of a cicerone and not like a native at all, *ἀτεχνῶς . . . ξεναγουμένῳ τινὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιχωρίῳ ἔοικας* (cf. *ἐπιχωριάζειν* of our passage for the reminiscence). — **ὡς ἂν εἰδώς**: = *εἰδείης*

ΕΡΜ. Οὐ σχολή μοι, ὦ πορθμεῦ· ἀπέρχομαι γάρ τι διακονησόμενος τῷ ἄνω Διὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν· ὁ δὲ ὀξύθυμός ἐστι καὶ δέδια μὴ βραδύναντά με ὅλον ὑμέτερον ἐάσῃ εἶναι παραδοὺς τῷ ζόφῳ, ἢ ὅπερ τὸν Ἥφαιστον πρῴην ἐποίησε, ῥίψῃ κἀμὲ τεταγὼν τοῦ ποδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεσπεσίου βηλοῦ, ὡς ὑποσκάζων γέλωτα παρέχοιμι καὶ αὐτὸς οἰνοχοῶν.

ΧΑΡ. Περιόψει οὖν με ἄλλως πλανώμενον ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ταῦτα ἑταῖρος καὶ σύμπλους καὶ ξυνδιάκτορος ὤν; καὶ μὴν καλῶς εἶχεν, ὦ Μαίας παῖ, ἐκείνων γοῦν σε μεμνῆσθαι, ὅτι μηδεπώποτέ σε ἢ ἀντλεῖν ἐκέλευσα ἢ πρόσκωπον εἶναι· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ῥέγκεις ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐκταθεὶς ὤμους οὕτω καρτεροὺς ἔχων, ἢ εἴ τινα λάλον νεκρὸν εὕροις, ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὅλον τὸν πλοῦν διαλέγῃ· ἐγὼ δὲ πρεσβύτης ὢν τὴν δικωπίαν ἐρέττω μόνος. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρός, ὦ φίλτατον

γὰρ ἄν, cf. G. 1308; H. 987; Gl. 595; B. 662. — **τῷ ἄνω Διί**: to distinguish from *Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος*, i.e. Pluto; cf. *ἡμέτερε Ζεῦ D. Mort.* 23, 1, and cf. Reitz. ad loc. — **ὅλον**: *for good and all.* — **ῥίψῃ** *κτλ.*: from *Il.* 1, 591. — **παρέχοιμι**: for mood see Introd. 35 (*a*). — **καὶ αὐτός**: i.e. as well as Hephaestus; as if Zeus's chief thought was to keep up the supply of *lame* cup-bearers. — **οἰνοχοῶν**: perhaps *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *ψυχαγωγῶν*. — **ξυνδιάκτορος**: this compound is found only here (cf. Chabert, *L'Atticisme de Lucien*, p. 126). — **καλῶς εἶχεν**: *'t were well.* In such phrases, as after *ἔδει, ἐχρῆν* etc., without *ἄν*, the dependent infinitive becomes unreal (Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 364). Cf. GMT. 431. Cf. *Pisc.* 2 *ἄριστον ἦν . . . εὑρέσθαι*. — **ὦ Μαίας παῖ**: Charon began with plain "Hermes" and now tries everything that may appeal to his affection or pride of pedigree. — **μηδεπώποτε**: for neg. see Introd. 37. — **πρόσκωπον**: in *D. Mort.* 22, 2, Menippus urges his claim to passage as a "deadhead" because *τῆς κώπης συνεπελαβόμην*. — **ῥέγκεις**: so the exasperated Strepsiades (Ar. *Nub.* 5) must listen to his slaves:

οἱ δ' οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν πρὸ τοῦ.

— **εἰ . . . εὕροις**: for syntax cf. Introd. 35 (*c*). — **λάλον**: such a talkative corpse is Menippus *D. Mort.* 22, 3 (q.v.). Cf., too, Lucian *Epigr.* No. 26:

εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένῳ, Κυλλήνιε, πῶς κατέβαινεν
Λολλιανοῦ ψυχὴ δῶμα τὸ Φερσεφόνης;
θαῦμα μέν, εἰ σιγῶσα· τυχὸν δέ τι καὶ σὲ διδάσκειν
ἤθελε· φεῦ, κείνου καὶ νέκυν ἀντιάσαι.

— **δικωπίαν**: cf. the two-oared skiff, *δίκωπον σκάφος* Eur. *Alc.* 252 and *ἐλάτᾳ*

Ἑρμάδιον, μὴ καταλίπῃς με, περιήγησαι δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἅπαντα, ὥς τι καὶ ἰδὼν ἐπανέλθοιμι· ὡς ἤν με σὺ ἀφῇς, οὐδὲν τῶν τυφλῶν διοίσω· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σφάλλονται διολισθαίνοντες ἐν τῷ σκότει, οὕτω δὴ κἀγώ σοι ἔμπαλιν ἀμβλυώττω πρὸς τὸ φῶς. ἀλλὰ δός, ὦ Κυλλήνιε, ἐς ἀεὶ μεμνησομένῳ τὴν χάριν.

2 ΕΡΜ. Τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα πληγῶν αἴτιον καταστήσεταί μοι· ὁρῶ γοῦν ἤδη τὸν μισθὸν τῆς περιηγήσεως οὐκ ἀκόνδυλον παντάπασιν ἡμῖν ἐσόμενον. ὑπουργητέον δὲ ὅμως· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάθοι τις, ὁπότε φίλος τις ὢν βιάζοιτο; πάντα μὲν οὖν σε ἰδεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν, ὦ πορθμεῦ· πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν ἐτῶν ἡ διατριβὴ γένοιτο. εἶτα ἐμὲ μὲν κηρύττεσθαι δεήσει καθάπερ ἀποδράντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, σὲ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν κωλύσει ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ Θανάτου ἔργα ὡς καὶ τὴν Πλούτωνος ἀρχὴν ζημιοῦν μὴ νεκραγωγοῦντα πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου· κᾆτα ὁ τελώνης Αἰακὸς

δικώπῳ 444. — **περιήγησαι**: as Menippus steps out of the boat, *D. Mort.* 20, 1, he exclaims πρὸς τοῦ Πλούτωνος, ὦ Αἰακέ, περιήγησαί μοι τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου πάντα. See note on § 1. That the pestiferous modern guides had prototypes in Lucian's day may be inferred from the amusing conceit in *V. H.* B 31 (q.v.) and from our author's vicious thrust both at the περιηγηταί and their victims in *Philops.* 4: εἰ γοῦν τις ἀφέλοι τὰ μυθώδη ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύσειε λιμῷ τοὺς περιηγητὰς αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆναι μηδὲ ἀμισθὶ τῶν ξένων τἀληθὲς ἀκούειν ἐθελησόντων (cf. Blümner, *Archaeol. Stud. zu Lucian*, p. 100). — **ἐπανέλθοιμι**: see Introd. 35 (*a*). — **διολισθαίνοντες**: both form and meaning vary slightly from classic use; see L. & S. and cf. *Pisc.* 30 διολισθάνοι, but in *Vit. Auct.* 12 διολισθαίνων (as here) is used of a *tipsy tongue.*

2. **οὐκ ἀκόνδυλον**: litotes. Cf. the "knuckle sauce" served with the pudding, Ar. *Pax* 123, κολλύραν μεγάλην καὶ κόνδυλον ὄψον ἐπ' αὐτῇ, as a supplementary *pièce de résistance.* — **τί . . . πάθοι**: "what *is* (note καί) a fellow to do?" a favorite expression; cf. *Men.* 3; *D. Mort.* 10, 6; *Tim.* 39. — **κηρύττεσθαι . . . ἀποδράντα**: as Hermes was himself Zeus's town crier, this would be an anomalous situation. In *Fugit.* 27 Hermes makes proclamation for a lost slave. — **ὡς**: = ὥστε. We must insert this, or supply δεήσει again, or infer from κωλύσει = *compel not to* the positive *compel.* See App. — **ὁ τελώνης Αἰακός**: Aeacus is usually judge in the underworld. It is part of

ἀγανακτήσει μηδ' ὀβολὸν ἐμπολῶν. ὡς δὲ τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν γιγνομένων ἴδοις, τοῦτο ἤδη σκεπτέον.

ΧΑΡ. Αὐτός, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἐπινόει τὸ βέλτιστον· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν οἶδα τῶν ὑπὲρ γῆς ξένος ὤν.

ΕΡΜ. Τὸ μὲν ὅλον, ὦ Χάρων, ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἡμῖν δεῖ χωρίου, ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνου πάντα κατίδοις· σοὶ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκάμνομεν· ἐκ περιωπῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα καθεώρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ θέμις εἰδώλοις ἀεὶ ξυνόντα ἐπιβατεύειν τῶν βασιλείων τοῦ Διός, ὥρα ἡμῖν ὑψηλόν τι ὄρος περισκοπεῖν.

3 ΧΑΡ. Οἶσθα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἅπερ εἴωθα λέγειν ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπειδὰν πλέωμεν· ὁπόταν γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα καταιγίσαν πλαγίᾳ τῇ ὀθόνῃ ἐμπέσῃ καὶ τὸ κῦμα ὑψηλὸν ἀρθῇ, τότε ὑμεῖς μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας κελεύετε τὴν ὀθόνην στεῖλαι ἢ ἐνδοῦναι ὀλίγον τοῦ ποδὸς ἢ συνεκδραμεῖν τῷ πνέοντι, ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν παρακελεύομαι ὑμῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸ βέλτιον. κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὴ καὶ σὺ πρᾶττε ὁπόσα καλῶς ἔχειν νομίζεις κυβερνήτης νῦν γε ὤν· ἐγὼ δέ, ὥσπερ

Lucian's method to raise an incidental or a fabricated function to the dignity of first importance. In *Catapl.* 4 the corpses do not go through in bond to Pluto without inspection, but Aeacus must, as custom officer, cross the ferry and proceed to the actual frontier of Hades, at the tunnel's mouth (*κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμιον*), where he receives the invoiced corpses from Hermes and checks them off on the way-bill: *ἐμοῦ τοὺς νεκρούς, ὡς ἔθος, ἀπαριθμοῦντος τῷ Αἰακῷ κἀκείνου λογιζομένου αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὰ τῆς σῆς* (Hermes is telling this to Clotho) *ἀδελφῆς πεμφθὲν αὐτῷ σύμβολον.* — **ὡς . . . ἴδοις**: for *ὅπως* and fut. indic. See Introd. 35 (*a*). — **ἐκ περιωπῆς**: a favorite word; Germ. *Rundblick.* Cf. *Pisc.* 15, *Cronosol.* 18, and *Symp.* 11.

3. καταιγίσαν: *with a sudden squall.* — **πλαγίᾳ**: *so that it sets aslant;* the boats, it will be remembered (see Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Navis"), were square-rigged. For pred. use see Introd. 23 (*a*). — **ἐνδοῦναι . . . ποδός**: *to let out the sheet a little.* — **συνεκδραμεῖν τῷ πνέοντι**: *to run before the wind.* Although unable to sail close in the wind's eye, ancient craft could make shift to lay a course. Charon's boat, apparently, insufficiently ballasted by his light-weight passengers, has heeled over so far as to scare them. — **ἐγὼ δὲ . . . ἡσυχίαν**: in

ἐπιβάταις νόμος, σιωπῇ καθεδοῦμαι πάντα πειθόμενος κελεύοντί σοι.

ΕΡΜ. Ὀρθῶς λέγεις· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴσομαι τί ποιητέον καὶ ἐξευρήσω τὴν ἱκανὴν σκοπήν. ἆρ' οὖν ὁ Καύκασος ἐπιτήδειος ἢ ὁ Παρνασσὸς ἢ ὑψηλότερος ἀμφοῖν ὁ Ὄλυμπος ἐκεινοσί; καίτοι οὐ φαῦλόν τι ἀνεμνήσθην ἐς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀπιδών· συγκαμεῖν δέ τι καὶ ὑπουργῆσαι καὶ σὲ δεῖ.

ΧΑΡ. Πρόσταττε· ὑπουργήσω γὰρ ὅσα δυνατά.

ΕΡΜ. Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητής φησι τοὺς Ἀλωέως υἱέας, δύο καὶ αὐτοὺς ὄντας, ἔτι παῖδας ἐθελῆσαί ποτε τὴν Ὄσσαν ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασπάσαντας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, εἶτα τὸ Πήλιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἱκανὴν ταύτην κλίμακα ἕξειν οἰομένους καὶ πρόσβασιν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. ἐκείνω μὲν οὖν τὼ μειρακίω, ἀτασθάλω γὰρ ἤστην, δίκας ἐτισάτην· νὼ δέ — οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα βουλεύομεν — τί οὐχὶ οἰκοδομοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπικυλινδοῦντες ἐπάλληλα τὰ ὄρη, ὡς ἔχοιμεν ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου ἀκριβεστέραν τὴν σκοπήν;

4 ΧΑΡ. Καὶ δυνησόμεθα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, δύ' ὄντες ἀναθέσθαι ἀράμενοι τὸ Πήλιον ἢ τὴν Ὄσσαν;

D. Mort. 10, 10, however, Hermes usurps command and gives the necessary orders: λῦε τὰ ἀπόγεια, τὴν ἀποβάθραν ἀνελώμεθα, τὸ ἀγκύριον ἀνεσπάσθω, πέτασον τὸ ἱστίον, εὔθυνε, ὦ πορθμεῦ, τὸ πηδάλιον. — **Καύκασος**: Hermes is ex officio an expert in matters topographical. As the context shows, however, the scene is laid near Olympus. Lucian is fond of panoramic suggestion, e.g. *Somn.* 15; *Icar.* 16; *Bis Acc.* 8; *Fugit.* 25. — **οὐ φαῦλόν τι**: *not a bad idea.* Litotes. — **Ἀλωέως**: the Aloeidae were named from their stepfather Aloeus, but received their mountain-moving propensities from their real father Poseidon, the earthshaker. For their history see *Od.* 11, 305 ff. — **Ὄσσαν**: the Peneius drains the Thessalian plain through the vale of Tempe between Olympus and Ossa. Mt. Pelion is part of the ridge that on the other side of Ossa runs southward to the promontory of Sepias. — **ἔχοιμεν**: see Introd. 35 (*a*). — **ἀκριβεστέραν**: for pred. use see Introd. 23 (*a*).

4. ἀναθέσθαι: sc. ἐπὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 2, 2, 4. Charon uses the word almost professionally as of his daily cargo. Hermes had used ἐπιθεῖναι

ΕΡΜ. Διὰ τί δ' οὐκ ἄν, ὦ Χάρων; ἢ ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀγεννεστέρους εἶναι τοῖν βρεφυλλίοιν ἐκείνοιν, καὶ ταῦτα θεοὺς ὑπάρχοντας;

ΧΑΡ. Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα δοκεῖ μοι ἀπίθανόν τινα τὴν μεγαλουργίαν ἔχειν.

ΕΡΜ. Εἰκότως· ἰδιώτης γὰρ εἶ, ὦ Χάρων, καὶ ἥκιστα ποιητικός· ὁ δὲ γεννάδας Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ δυοῖν στίχοιν αὐτίκα ἡμῖν ἀμβατὸν ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτω ῥᾳδίως συνθεὶς τὰ ὄρη. καὶ θαυμάζω εἴ σοι ταῦτα τεράστια εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸν Ἄτλαντα δηλαδὴ εἰδότι, ὃς τὸν πόλον αὐτὸν εἷς ὢν φέρει ἀνέχων ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας. ἀκούεις δέ γε ἴσως καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πέρι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ὡς διαδέξαιτό ποτε αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἄτλαντα καὶ ἀναπαύσειε πρὸς ὀλίγον τοῦ ἄχθους ὑποθεὶς ἑαυτὸν τῷ φορτίῳ.

ΧΑΡ. Ἀκούω καὶ ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ, σὺ ἄν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ εἰδείητε.

ΕΡΜ. Ἀληθέστατα, ὦ Χάρων. ἢ τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα σοφοὶ ἄνδρες ἐψεύδοντο ἄν; ὥστε ἀναμοχλεύωμεν τὴν Ὄσσαν πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν ὑφηγεῖται τὸ ἔπος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων,

αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον.

c. dat. — **τοῖν βρεφυλλίοιν**: *that brace of little brats.* — **ἀπίθανόν τινα**: see on *Somn.* 1. — **ἰδιώτης**: *a layman*, i.e. not a professional. *ἰδιώτης* is contrasted with various words, e.g. Plato *Phaedr.* 258 D *ποιητὴς ἢ ἰδιώτης a poet or a prose-writer;* so Thuc. 2, 48 *ἰατρὸς ἢ ἰδιώτης*; cf. *Peregr.* 13; *Vit. Auct.* 11 and 27; *Pisc.* 10 and 34. — **ἀπὸ δυοῖν στίχοιν**: the dual almost gives the force of *with a distich.* The two verses are *Od.* 11, 315–316. — **ἀμβατόν**: for Ionic form see the Homeric citation below. — **ἀκούεις**: "The present tense of a number of verbs that involve unity of character or persistence of result, is often translated by the Eng. perfect." Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 204. — **ὑποθεὶς ἑαυτόν**: i.e. the eleventh labor of Heracles. — **αὐτάρ . . .**: see *Od.* 11, 315–316:

Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

ὁρᾷς ὅπως ῥᾳδίως ἅμα καὶ ποιητικῶς ἐξειργάσμεθα. φέρ' οὖν ἀναβὰς ἴδω εἰ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐποικοδομεῖν δεήσει. παπαῖ, κάτω ἔτι ἐσμὲν ἐν ὑπωρείᾳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἑῴων μόγις Ἰωνία καὶ Λυδία φαίνεται, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἑσπέρας οὐ πλέον Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρκτῴων τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἴστρου μόνον, κἀκεῖθεν ἡ Κρήτη οὐ πάνυ σαφῶς. μετακινητέα ἡμῖν, ὦ πορθμεῦ, καὶ ἡ Οἴτη, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἶτα ὁ Παρνασσὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

ΧΑΡ. Οὕτω ποιῶμεν. ὅρα μόνον μὴ λεπτότερον ἐξεργασώμεθα τὸ ἔργον ἀπομηκύναντες πέρα τοῦ πιθανοῦ, εἶτα συγκαταρριφέντες αὐτῷ πικρᾶς τῆς Ὁμήρου οἰκοδομικῆς πειραθῶμεν ξυντριβέντες τῶν κρανίων.

ΕΡΜ. Θάρρει· ἀσφαλῶς γὰρ ἕξει ἅπαντα. μετατίθει τὴν Οἴτην·. ἐπικυλινδείσθω ὁ Παρνασσός. ἰδοὺ δή, ἐπάνειμι αὖθις· εὖ ἔχει· πάντα ὁρῶ· ἀνάβαινε ἤδη καὶ σύ.

5. **παπαῖ . . . ὑπωρείᾳ**: *why, bless my soul! we are still down among the foot-hills of heaven.* In *Hermot.* 3 the middle-aged undergraduate admits that he is ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ κάτω ἔτι, and adds that the road is slippery (ὀλισθηρά) and one that calls for a helping hand (δεῖ χεῖρα ὀρέγοντος), which repeats the ὄρεξον . . . τὴν χεῖρα and τοῦ ὀλισθηροῦ of our passage below. — **ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῴων**: cf. App. to *Somn.* 15. It is just as well not to apply an accurate scale of miles to this περιωπή; but although (cf. Chabert, op. cit., p. 39) it is the Greek world of the sixth century B.C. with which we are mainly concerned, yet later on, with the help of two more mountains and another Homeric eye-opener, Charon sees not only Sardes and Samos, but also eastward, far beyond Lucian's birthplace, to Babylon. — **Ἰωνία**: i.e. the coast of Asia Minor between Caria and Aeolis. — **κἀκεῖθεν**: i.e. ἀπὸ (τῆς) μεσημβρίας. For designations of points of the compass cf. Hdt. 1, 142. — **οὕτω** κτλ.: Charon tries to live up to the naval discipline outlined in § 3. — **λεπτότερον**: compare this legitimate use of the predicate and the somewhat more strained πικρᾶς (just below) with the usage cited in Introd. 23 (*a*). — **πέρα τοῦ πιθανοῦ**: at the outset (§ 4) the scheme had seemed ἀπίθανον. — **τῶν κρανίων**: for both the catastrophe and the case of the noun, cf. Ar. *Pax* 69–71:

ἔπειτα λεπτὰ κλιμάκια ποιούμενος,
πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀνερριχᾶτ' ἂν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,
ἕως ξυνετρίβη τῆς κεφαλῆς καταρρυείς.

The gen. is so used with κατέαγε *Ach.* 1180, *Vesp.* 1428. Schmid, I, 235, classifies this and *Tim.* 48 κατέαγα τοῦ κρανίου as a special form of the partitive genitive. — **ἰδοὺ δή**: *there now!* —

ΧΑΡ. Ὄρεξον, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, τὴν χεῖρα· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικράν με ταύτην μηχανὴν ἀναβιβάζεις.

ΕΡΜ. Εἴ γε καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐθέλεις, ὦ Χάρων, ἅπαντα· οὐκ ἔνι δὲ ἄμφω καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ φιλοθεάμονα εἶναι. ἀλλ' ἔχου μου τῆς δεξιᾶς καὶ φείδου μὴ κατὰ τοῦ ὀλισθηροῦ πατεῖν. εὖ γε, ἀνελήλυθας καὶ σύ· ἐπείπερ δὲ δικόρυμβος ὁ Παρνασσός ἐστι, μίαν ἑκάτερος ἄκραν ἀπολαβόμενος καθεζώμεθα· σὺ δέ μοι ἤδη ἐν κύκλῳ περιβλέπων ἐπισκόπει ἅπαντα.

6 ΧΑΡ. Ὁρῶ γῆν πολλὴν καὶ λίμνην τινὰ μεγάλην περιρρέουσαν καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμοὺς τοῦ Κωκυτοῦ καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντος μείζονας καὶ ἀνθρώπους πάνυ σμικροὺς καί τινας φωλεοὺς αὐτῶν.

ΕΡΜ. Πόλεις ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν, οὓς φωλεοὺς εἶναι νομίζεις.

ΧΑΡ. Οἶσθα οὖν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ μάτην τὸν Παρνασσὸν αὐτῇ Κασταλίᾳ καὶ τὴν Οἴτην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὄρη μετεκινήσαμεν;

ΕΡΜ. Ὅτι τί;

ΧΑΡ. Οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς ἔγωγε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ ὁρῶ· ἐδεόμην οὐ πόλεις καὶ ὄρη αὐτὸ μόνον ὥσπερ ἐν γραφαῖς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἃ πράττουσι καὶ οἷα λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ ὅτε με τὸ πρῶτον ἐντυχὼν εἶδες γελῶντα

μηχανήν: the *Χαρώνιοι κλίμακες* in the theatre gave Charon his exits and his entrances, hence he might well be pardoned for his reluctance to become a *θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. — **Εἴ γε** *κτλ.*: sc. some apodosis like "Well, you'll have to risk it." — **δικόρυμβος**: i.e. *δικόρυφος*, often used by the poets in describing Parnassus. With the two actual peaks of Parnassus were sometimes confounded the two precipitous cliffs of the gorge at Delphi. See Frazer on Paus. 10, 8, 6.

6. **λίμνην**: for the Lake of Acheron where Charon plied his ferry cf. Ar. *Ran.* 137–193. — **Κωκυτοῦ** *κτλ.*: for the potamography of Hades the locus classicus is Plato *Phaedo* 112 E, f. Cf. Dante *Inferno* 14, 112–138. — **φωλεούς**: *lairs*. Cf. S. Matt. 8, 20 *αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν*. — **αὐτῇ Κασταλίᾳ**: *Castalia and all*. For Castalia cf. Frazer on Paus. 10, 8, 9. — **Ὅτι τί**; *pourquoi?* Book of Common Prayer, Ps. 16, 11, *for why?* — **ὥσπερ ἐν γραφαῖς**: *just as*

καὶ ἤρου γε ὅ τι γελῴην· ἀκούσας γάρ τινος ἥσθην ἐς ὑπερβολήν.

ΕΡΜ. *Τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν;*

ΧΑΡ. *Ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, οἶμαι, κληθείς τις ὑπό τινος τῶν φίλων ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, Μάλιστα ἥξω, ἔφη. καὶ μεταξὺ λέγοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους κεραμὶς ἐμπεσοῦσα οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ἐγέλασα οὖν, οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντος τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἔοικα δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑποκαταβήσεσθαι, ὡς μᾶλλον βλέποιμι καὶ ἀκούοιμι.*

7 ΕΡΜ. *Ἔχ' ἀτρέμας· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ ἰάσομαί σοι καὶ ὀξυδερκέστατόν σε ἐν βραχεῖ ἀποφανῶ παρ' Ὁμήρου τινὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπῳδὴν λαβών, κἀπειδὰν εἴπω τὰ ἔπη, μέμνησο μηκέτι ἀμβλυώττειν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς πάντα ὁρᾶν.*

ΧΑΡ. *Λέγε μόνον.*

ΕΡΜ. *Ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἕλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,*
ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃς ἠμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

τί ἐστιν; ἤδη ὁρᾷς;

ΧΑΡ. *Ὑπερφυῶς γε· τυφλὸς ὁ Λυγκεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς πρὸς ἐμέ· ὥστε σὺ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσδίδασκέ με καὶ ἀποκρίνου ἐρωτῶντι. ἀλλὰ βούλει κἀγὼ κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον*

in pictures. — **ὅ τι γελῴην**: Hermes's words, § 1, were *τί γελᾷς.* — **κληθείς**: *bidden.* In *Gall.* 9, a poor shoemaker receives a contingent invitation to dinner; the host says, *σὺ ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἧκε λουσάμενος, ἢν μὴ ὅ γε κληθεὶς αὖθις εἴπῃ ἀφίξεσθαι, ὡς νῦν γε ἀμφίβολός ἐστι.* — **μεταξύ**: cf. note to *Somn.* 17. — **ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους κεραμίς**: cf. *Light of Asia*, Book III:

> A snake's nip, half a span of angry steel,
> A chill, a fish-bone, or a falling tile,
> And life was over and the man is dead.

— **τοῦ οἰκήματος**: note the article; i.e. *the house* (before which you saw me standing). See App. — **οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως**: see Introd. 29. — **ἐγέλασα**: *I burst into a laugh.* Ingressive aor. Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 239. — **ὑποκαταβήσεσθαι**: note force of *ὑπο-*, "I'll be going *a little* further down." Cf. on *Somn.* 4. — **βλέποιμι**: see Introd. 35 (*a*).

7. ἀποφανῶ: reddam. So used parallel with *ἀποδείκνυμι*, *Somn.* 8 (q.v.). — **μέμνησο μηκέτι**: a faith-cure. — **Ἀχλὺν κτλ.**: words of Athena to Diomedes *Il.* 5, 127 ff. See App. Virgil recasts them *Aen.* 2, 604. In *Icar.* 14 Empedocles cures Icaromenippus's myopia by help of the eagle's wing. — **Λυγκεύς**:

ἐρήσομαί σε, ὡς μάθῃς οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀμελέτητον ὄντα με τῶν Ὁμήρου;

ΕΡΜ. Καὶ πόθεν σὺ ἔχεις τι τῶν ἐκείνου εἰδέναι ναύτης ἀεὶ καὶ πρόσκωπος ὤν;

ΧΑΡ. Ὁρᾷς; ὀνειδιστικὸν τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τέχνην. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁπότε διεπόρθμευον αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντα, πολλὰ ῥαψῳδοῦντος παρακούσας ἐνίων ἔτι μέμνημαι· καίτοι χειμὼν ἡμᾶς οὐ μικρὸς τότε κατελάμβανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤρξατο ᾄδειν οὐ πάνυ αἴσιόν τινα ᾠδὴν τοῖς πλέουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδῶν συνήγαγε τὰς νεφέλας καὶ ἐτάραξε τὸν πόντον ὥσπερ τορύνην τινὰ ἐμβαλὼν τὴν τρίαιναν καὶ πάσας τὰς θυέλλας ὠρόθυνε καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, κυκῶν τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπῶν, χειμὼν ἄφνω καὶ γνόφος ἐμπεσὼν ὀλίγου δεῖν περιέτρεψεν ἡμῖν τὴν ναῦν· ὅτε περ καὶ ναυτιάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπήμεσε τῶν ῥαψῳδιῶν τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῇ Σκύλλῃ καὶ Χαρύβδει καὶ Κύκλωπι. οὐ χαλεπὸν οὖν ἦν ἐκ τοσούτου ἐμέτου ὀλίγα γοῦν διαφυλάτ-
8 τειν. εἰπὲ γάρ μοι·

> τίς τ' ἄρ' ὅδ' ἐστὶ πάχιστος ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε,
> ἔξοχος ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὴν καὶ εὐρέας ὤμους;

one of the Argonauts, the stock example (*ἐκεῖνος*) of far-sightedness, cf. *Icar.* 12. — **τῶν Ὁμήρου** (sc. *ἐπῶν*): (that not even I have neglected *my Homer*. — **Ὁρᾷς**: see note on *Vit. Auct.* 4 and on *Peregr.* 45. — **οὐ πάνυ αἴσιον**: *boding no great luck*. — **ὥσπερ τορύνην τινά**: *like one of your soup-ladles*. Note Lucian's patchwork of *Od.* 5, 291 f.:

> *ὣς εἰπὼν σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον*
> *χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἑλών· πάσας δ' ὀρόθυνεν ἀέλλας.*

— **ἀπήμεσε . . . ἐμέτου**: Galato, in the time (probably) of the early Ptolemies, made a picture of Homer sharing, in this wise, his good cheer with the starveling poets. Cf. the scholiast ad loc., *ὅτι ὁ Γαλάτω ὁ ζωγράφος ἔγραψε τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον ἐμοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ποιητὰς τὰ ἐμημεσμένα ἀρυομένους.* See Blümner, op. cit., p. 82, who cites this among other instances where Lucian had actual works of art in mind. Aeschylus used to describe his works as "scraps from Homer's table"; see Ath. 347 E.

8. εἰπὲ γάρ: resuming the thought interrupted at *ἐρωτῶντι* § 7. — **τίς τ' ἄρ' ὅδ'**: Lucian changes *Il.* 3, 226–227 by substituting *ἐστὶ πάχιστος* for *ἄλλος Ἀχαιός* and *ἀνθρώπων* for *Ἀργείων*. —

ΕΡΜ. Μίλων οὗτος ὁ ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀθλητής. ἐπικροτοῦσι δ' αὐτῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅτι τὸν ταῦρον ἀράμενος φέρει διὰ τοῦ σταδίου μέσου.

ΧΑΡ. Καὶ πόσῳ δικαιότερον ἂν ἐμέ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἐπαινοῖεν, ὃς αὐτόν σοι τὸν Μίλωνα μετ' ὀλίγον ξυλλαβὼν ἐνθήσομαι ἐς τὸ σκαφίδιον, ὁπόταν ἥκῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀναλωτοτάτου τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν καταπαλαισθεὶς τοῦ Θανάτου, μηδὲ ξυνεὶς ὅπως αὐτὸν ὑποσκελίζει; κᾆτα οἰμώξεται ἡμῖν δηλαδὴ μεμνημένος τῶν στεφάνων τούτων καὶ τοῦ κρότου· νῦν δὲ μέγα φρονεῖ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ταύρου φορᾷ. τί δ' οὖν οἰηθῶμεν; ἆρα ἐλπίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνήξεσθαί ποτε;

ΕΡΜ. Πόθεν ἐκεῖνος θανάτου νῦν μνημονεύσειεν ἂν ἐν ἀκμῇ τοσαύτῃ;

ΧΑΡ. Ἔα τοῦτον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γέλωτα ἡμῖν παρέξοντα, ὁπόταν πλέῃ μηδ' ἐμπίδα ἡμῖν οὐχ ὅπως ταῦρον ἔτι
9 ἄρασθαι δυνάμενος. σὺ δέ μοι ἐκεῖνο εἰπέ,

τίς τ' ἄρ' ὅδ' ἄλλος ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνήρ;

οὐχ Ἕλλην, ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆς στολῆς.

ΕΡΜ. Κῦρος, ὦ Χάρων, ὁ Καμβύσου, ὃς τὴν ἀρχὴν πάλαι Μήδων ἐχόντων νῦν Περσῶν ἤδη ἐποίησεν εἶναι· καὶ

Μίλων: see Paus. 6, 14, 2. Milo flor. 511 B.C. and was a contemporary of Darius. By prophetic licence Charon sees him as contemporary of Cyrus the Great. — **ἐπικροτοῦσι**: Sbdt. sees in this a pun on Κρότων. — **τὸν ταῦρον**: *the* (well-known) *bull*. — **καταπαλαισθείς**: *floored;* this and ὑποσκελίζει remind Hermes, the god of the palaestra, that he had better get his sea-legs on before setting foot in Charon's boat. — **τεθνήξεσθαι**: mid. for act. See Schmid, I, 242. — **ἐμπίδα**: in Aesop's fable (No. 235) it is a *κώνωψ* that seats itself on the horn of the bull. "Milo," as Lucian seems to suggest, "in his palmy days could pick up the bull *αὐτῷ τῷ κώνωπι*, but now — !" — **οὐχ ὅπως**: *let alone.* See L. & S. s.v. *ὅπως* II, 2.

9. **Ἕλλην . . . στολῆς**: in *V.H.* A 11 Endymion concludes that his prisoners are Greeks, *making a guess from their garb* (*ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς*). — **Κῦρος**: i.e. Cyrus the Great, who died 529 B.C. —

Ἀσσυρίων δ᾽ ἔναγχος οὗτος ἐκράτησε καὶ Βαβυλῶνα παρεστήσατο καὶ νῦν ἐλασείοντι ἐπὶ Λυδίαν ἔοικεν, ὡς καθελὼν τὸν Κροῖσον ἄρχοι ἁπάντων.

ΧΑΡ. Ὁ Κροῖσος δὲ ποῦ ποτε κἀκεῖνός ἐστιν;

ΕΡΜ. Ἐκεῖσε ἀπόβλεψον ἐς τὴν μεγάλην ἀκρόπολιν τὴν τὸ τριπλοῦν τεῖχος· Σάρδεις ἐκεῖναι, καὶ τὸν Κροῖσον αὐτὸν ὁρᾷς ἤδη ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσῆς καθήμενον Σόλωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ διαλεγόμενον. βούλει ἀκούσωμεν αὐτῶν ὅ τι καὶ λέγουσι;

ΧΑΡ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

10 ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, εἶδες γάρ μου τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ ὅσος ἄσημος χρυσός ἐστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολυτέλειαν, εἰπέ μοι, τίνα ἡγῇ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστατον εἶναι.

ΧΑΡ. Τί ἄρα ὁ Σόλων ἐρεῖ;

ΕΡΜ. Θάρρει· οὐδὲν ἀγεννές, ὦ Χάρων.

ΣΟΛ. Ὦ Κροῖσε, ὀλίγοι μὲν οἱ εὐδαίμονες· ἐγὼ δὲ ὧν οἶδα Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα ἡγοῦμαι εὐδαιμονεστάτους γενέσθαι, τοὺς τῆς ἱερείας παῖδας τῆς Ἀργόθεν.

τὴν τὸ τριπλοῦν τεῖχος: see Introd. 30. — **Κροῖσον . . . Σόλωνι . . . διαλεγόμενον**: the conversation as told by Hdt. 1, 29 ff. seems to be chronologically impossible; see Abicht, Sayce, or Stein ad loc. and Abicht on Hdt. 6, 125. Plutarch, however (*Sol.* 27) thinks the story too good not to be true; and Lucian, also indifferent to chronology, improves on it by inventing a miniature Socratic dialogue.

10. **εἶδες γάρ**: the *γάρ*, as often, anticipates the leading sentence; here *εἰπέ μοι*. — **ἄσημος χρυσός**: *bullion*, as distinguished from *χρυσίον coin, plate*, etc. But we also find *χρυσίον ἄσημον* in Thuc. 2, 13 of the *ἀναθήματα*, etc. — **τὴν ἄλλην πολυτέλειαν**: *the rest of my sumptuous establishment.* — **Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα**: Tellus is usually mentioned first. In Hdt. 1, 31 the young men, in default of the oxen, draw their mother, the priestess, to the Heraeum (more than five miles distant and up a hill). In answer to the prayer of their proud and grateful mother the goddess grants them her best gift — death. Falling asleep in the sacred precinct, they pass straight from the Heraeum to heaven. Cf. William Watson's *Keats:*

> . . . in recompense sublime,
> The gods, alas! gave him their *fatal love.*

For the Argive Heraeum, excavated by the American School, see *The Argive*

ΧΑΡ. Φησὶν οὗτος τοὺς ἅμα πρῴην ἀποθανόντας, ἐπεὶ τὴν μητέρα ὑποδύντες εἵλκυσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ἔστω· ἐχέτωσαν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ πρῶτα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας. ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη;

ΣΟΛ. Τέλλος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς εὖ τε ἐβίω καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ κάθαρμα, οὔ σοι δοκῶ εὐδαίμων εἶναι;

ΣΟΛ. Οὐδέπω οἶδα, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἢν μὴ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀφίκῃ τοῦ βίου· ὁ γὰρ θάνατος ἀκριβὴς ἔλεγχος τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὸ ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ τέρμα εὐδαιμόνως διαβιῶναι.

ΧΑΡ. Κάλλιστα, ὦ Σόλων, ὅτι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐπιλέλησαι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ πορθμεῖον αὐτὸ ἀξιοῖς γίνεσθαι τὴν περὶ τῶν
11 τοιούτων κρίσιν. ἀλλὰ τίνας ἐκείνους ὁ Κροῖσος ἐκπέμπει ἢ τί ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρουσι;

ΕΡΜ. Πλίνθους τῷ Πυθίῳ χρυσᾶς ἀνατίθησι μισθὸν τῶν χρησμῶν, ὑφ᾽ ὧν καὶ ἀπολεῖται μικρὸν ὕστερον· φιλόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκτόπως.

Heraeum, by Charles Waldstein.—**ὑποδύντες**: Hdt. adds ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην: Plutarch (l.c.) ὑποδύντες τῷ ζυγῷ (the Attic word). — **τίς ἂν εἴη**: *who* (in that case) *might the second one be?* — **Τέλλος**: see Hdt. 1, 30; he saw his children's children, his country prospering, and, well-to-do himself, died in her defence and was honored with public burial where he fell.—**κάθαρμα**: *you scum of the earth!* Cf. Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Lustratio."— **τὸ τέλος . . . εὐδαιμόνως διαβιῶναι**: a favorite idea. Solon's words (Hdt. 1, 32) are, σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται. The gloomy finale of Soph. *O. T.* (1529–1530) is,

> . . . μηδέν᾽ ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν
> τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν
> παθών.

And in Aesch. *Agam.* 928:

> ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ
> βίον τελευτήσαντ᾽ ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ.

So Schiller, *Wall. Tod*, v, 4: "Man soll den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben." —**ἀκριβὴς ἔλεγχος**: so, in *D. Mort.* 21, 2, Cerberus asserts that even Socrates was bold up to the entrance only, τὰ δ᾽ ἔνδοθεν ἔλεγχος ἀκριβής. — **γίνεσθαι**: for form, see Introd. 40.

11. Πλίνθους: in Hdt. they are ἡμιπλίνθια. — **φιλόμαντις**: *daft on divina-*

ΧΑΡ. Ἐκεῖνο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ χρυσός, τὸ λαμπρὸν ὃ ἀποστίλβει, τὸ ὕπωχρον μετ᾽ ἐρυθήματος; νῦν γὰρ πρῶτον εἶδον ἀκούων ἀεί.

ΕΡΜ. Ἐκεῖνο, ὦ Χάρων, τὸ ἀοίδιμον ὄνομα καὶ περιμάχητον.

ΧΑΡ. Καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅ τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἕν τι μόνον, ὅτι βαρύνονται οἱ φέροντες αὐτό.

ΕΡΜ. Οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα ὅσοι πόλεμοι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ λῃστήρια καὶ ἐπιορκίαι καὶ φόνοι καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ πλοῦς μακρὸς καὶ ἐμπορίαι καὶ δουλεῖαι;

ΧΑΡ. Διὰ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, τὸ μὴ πολὺ τοῦ χαλκοῦ διαφέρον: οἶδα γὰρ τὸν χαλκόν, ὀβολόν, ὡς οἶσθα, παρὰ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἑκάστου ἐκλέγων.

ΕΡΜ. Ναί· ἀλλὰ ὁ χαλκὸς μὲν πολύς, ὥστε οὐ πάνυ σπουδάζεται ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν· τοῦτον δὲ ὀλίγον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ βάθους οἱ μεταλλεύοντες ἀνορύττουσι· πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἐκ γῆς καὶ οὗτος ὥσπερ ὁ μόλυβδος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα.

ΧΑΡ. Δεινήν τινα λέγεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀβελτερίαν, οἳ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα ἐρῶσιν ὠχροῦ καὶ βαρέος κτήματος.

ΕΡΜ. Ἀλλὰ οὐ Σόλων γε ἐκεῖνος, ὦ Χάρων, ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ φαίνεται, ὡς ὁρᾷς· καταγελᾷ γὰρ τοῦ Κροίσου καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας τοῦ βαρβάρου, καί μοι δοκεῖν ἐρέσθαι τι βούλεται αὐτόν· ἐπακούσωμεν οὖν.

12 ΣΟΛ. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κροῖσε, οἴει γάρ τι δεῖσθαι τῶν πλίνθων τούτων τὸν Πύθιον;

tion. — **ὕπωχρον**: *palish yellow.* In *Fugit.* 27, of a slave, *somewhat sallow.* — **ἀοίδιμον**: *storied.* — **πλοῦς μακρός**: *long voyaging.* In this list of plurals the singular (in all Mss.) seems like an interloper. — **ὀβολόν**: for Charon's fee cf. *D. Mort.* 22 et passim. For survival of this, cf. the pennies put by old crones on the eyes of a corpse. — **πολύς**: *plentiful.* See L. & S. s.v., I, 2, c. — **πλὴν ἀλλά**: see Introd. 24 (*a*). — **ἀβελτερίαν**: *fatuity.* For brachylogy see on *Somn.* 1. — **τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα ἐρῶσιν**: *have such a passionate love for.*

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Νὴ Δία· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνάθημα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον.

ΣΟΛ. Οὐκοῦν μακάριον οἴει τὸν θεὸν ἀποφανεῖν εἰ κτήσαιτο ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ πλίνθους χρυσᾶς;

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΣΟΛ. Πολλήν μοι λέγεις, ὦ Κροῖσε, πενίαν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, εἰ ἐκ Λυδίας μεταστέλλεσθαι τὸ χρυσίον δεήσει αὐτούς, ἢν ἐπιθυμήσωσι.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτος ἂν γένοιτο χρυσὸς ὅσος παρ' ἡμῖν;

ΣΟΛ. Εἰπέ μοι, σίδηρος δὲ φύεται ἐν Λυδίᾳ;

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Οὐ πάνυ τι.

ΣΟΛ. Τοῦ βελτίονος ἄρα ἐνδεεῖς ἐστε.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Πῶς ἀμείνων ὁ σίδηρος χρυσίου;

ΣΟΛ. Ἢν ἀποκρίνῃ μηδὲν ἀγανακτῶν, μάθοις ἄν.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ἐρώτα, ὦ Σόλων.

ΣΟΛ. Πότεροι ἀμείνους οἱ σῴζοντές τινας ἢ οἱ σῳζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν;

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Οἱ σῴζοντες δηλαδή.

ΣΟΛ. Ἆρ' οὖν, ἢν Κῦρος, ὡς λογοποιοῦσί τινες, ἐπίῃ Λυδοῖς, χρυσᾶς μαχαίρας σὺ ποιήσῃ τῷ στρατῷ ἢ ὁ σίδηρος ἀναγκαῖος τότε;

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ὁ σίδηρος δῆλον ὅτι.

12. **ἀνάθημα**: for these Delphic anathemata see Frazer on Paus. 10, 9, 2 ff. — **ἀποφανεῖν**: see Introd. 35 (*c*). — **Πῶς γὰρ οὔ**; a frequent formula of asseveration in Plato. For Platonic reminiscence note the particles throughout the context. — **Πολλὴν πενίαν**: Socrates, Plato *Apol.* 23 c, says: *ἐν πενίᾳ μυρίᾳ εἰμί.* — **σίδηρος δέ**: if *εἰπέ μοι* is construed parenthetically, the *δέ* marks a natural contrast to the *χρυσός* in the preceding question. — **φύεται**: *is produced.* *φύω* thus used of inanimate things reverts to the meaning of the Skt. stem *bhū* 'become'; 'arise.' — **μηδὲν ἀγανακτῶν**: perhaps a reminiscence of Thrasymachus chafing under Socrates's questions, Plato *Rep.* 338 D ff., and especially 354 A *ἐπειδή μοι πρᾶος ἐγένου καὶ χαλεπαίνων ἐπαύσω.* — **μάθοις ἄν**: see GMT. 505. — **Ἐρώτα**: *go on with your inquisition.* — **λογοποιοῦσι**:

ΣΟΛ. Καὶ εἴ γε μὴ τοῦτον παρασκευάσαιο, οἴχοιτο ἂν σοι ὁ χρυσὸς ἐς Πέρσας αἰχμάλωτος.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Εὐφήμει, ἄνθρωπε.

ΣΟΛ. Μὴ γένοιτο μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα· φαίνῃ δ' οὖν ἀμείνω τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ὁμολογῶν.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῷ θεῷ σιδηρᾶς πλίνθους κελεύεις ἀνατιθέναι με, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ὀπίσω αὖθις ἀνακαλεῖν;

ΣΟΛ. Οὐδὲ σιδήρου ἐκεῖνός γε δεήσεται, ἀλλ' ἤν τε χαλκὸν ἤν τε χρυσὸν ἀναθῇς, ἄλλοις μέν ποτε κτῆμα καὶ ἕρμαιον ἔσῃ ἀνατεθεικὼς ἢ Φωκεῦσιν ἢ Βοιωτοῖς ἢ Δελφοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤ τινι τυράννῳ ἢ λῃστῇ, τῷ δὲ θεῷ ὀλίγον μέλει τῶν σῶν χρυσοποιιῶν.

ΚΡΟΙΣ. Ἀεὶ σύ μου τῷ πλούτῳ προσπολεμεῖς καὶ φθονεῖς.

13 ΕΡΜ. Οὐ φέρει ὁ Λυδός, ὦ Χάρων, τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ ξένον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα, πένης ἄνθρωπος οὐχ ὑποπτήσσων, τὸ δὲ παριστάμενον ἐλευθέρως λέγων. μεμνήσεται δ' οὖν μικρὸν ὕστερον τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὅταν αὐτὸν δέῃ ἁλόντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ὑπὸ τοῦ

cf. Lys. 22, 14. — **Εὐφήμει**: *bridle your tongue.* — **ἔσῃ ἀνατεθεικώς**: for periphrastic form see Introd. 20. — **Φωκεῦσιν . . . τυράννῳ ἢ λῃστῇ**: in the Holy War (356–346 B.C.) Onomarchus plundered the Delphic ἀναθήματα. Later Phayllus, his successor, melted one hundred and seventeen of the golden ingots and the golden lion itself which Croesus had set up. See Grote c. lxxxvii. Cf. especially Paus. 10, 7, 1. Paus. (3, 10, 8), however, says: *τὸν χρυσὸν ὃν Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔπεμψε τῷ Πυθαεῖ, τούτῳ ἐς κόσμον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις κατεχρήσαντο ἀγάλματος.* — **τῶν σῶν χρυσοποιιῶν**: *for your goldsmith's handiwork.* In Byzantine Greek χρυσοποιία means 'alchemy.' The force of the plural is, 'your *efforts* in the line of goldsmithery.' See plurals in § 15 and cf. Introd. 22. See App.

13. **παρρησίαν**: a cardinal virtue with Lucian. "Parrhesiades" is his incognito in *Pisc.* 19 and 52. — **τὴν πυράν**: Hdt. 1, 86 ff. gives a vivid account of Croesus on the pyre. In Bacchylides, 3, 31 ff., is found a different version to the effect that Croesus himself builds a pyre and ascends upon it with wife and daughters to escape slavery by death. Zeus extinguishes the fire, and Apollo, in gratitude for

Κύρου ἀναχθῆναι· ἤκουσα γὰρ τῆς Κλωθοῦς πρῴην ἀναγινωσκούσης τὰ ἑκάστῳ ἐπικεκλωσμένα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ταῦτα ἐγέγραπτο, Κροῖσον μὲν ἁλῶναι ὑπὸ Κύρου, Κῦρον δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκεινησὶ τῆς Μασσαγέτιδος ἀποθανεῖν. ὁρᾷς τὴν Σκυθίδα, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου τούτου τοῦ λευκοῦ ἐξελαύνουσαν;

ΧΑΡ. *Νὴ Δία.*

ΕΡΜ. *Τόμυρις ἐκείνη ἐστί, καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν γε ἀποτεμοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου αὕτη ἐς ἀσκὸν ἐμβαλεῖ πλήρη αἵματος. ὁρᾷς δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεανίσκον; Καμβύσης ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν· οὗτος βασιλεύσει μετὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ μυρία σφαλεὶς ἔν τε τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ Αἰθιοπίᾳ τὸ τελευταῖον μανεὶς ἀποθανεῖται ἀποκτείνας τὸν Ἆπιν.*

ΧΑΡ. *Ὢ πολλοῦ γέλωτος. ἀλλὰ νῦν τίς ἂν αὐτοὺς προσβλέψειεν οὕτως ὑπερφρονοῦντας τῶν ἄλλων; ἢ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον οὗτος μὲν αἰχμάλωτος ἔσται,*
14 *οὗτος δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἕξει ἐν ἀσκῷ αἵματος; ἐκεῖνος δὲ τίς ἐστιν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ὁ τὴν πορφυρᾶν ἐφεστρίδα ἐμπεπορπημένος, ὁ τὸ διάδημα, ᾧ τὸν δακτύλιον ὁ μάγειρος ἀναδίδωσι*

the gifts sent to Delphi, bears them away to dwell among the Hyperboreans. — **ἤκουσα**: often, as here, *ἀναγιγνώσκω* is used of reading aloud, but in *Philops.* 25 we find Pluto *ἐπιλεγόμενος τῶν τεθνηξομένων τὰ ὀνόματα.* — **τῆς Κλωθοῦς**: the respective functions of the Spinsters Three are given by Plato in *Rep.* 617 c. Lachesis sings *τὰ γεγονότα*, Clotho *τὰ ὄντα*, and Atropos *τὰ μέλλοντα*, but Clotho is apt to assume the rôles of all three. See especially the account in *Catapl.* 1–16. — **τὰ . . . ἐπικεκλωσμένα**: *what has been spun out for each.* Note tense here and in *ἐγέγραπτο*: each man's fate is "sealed and signed" even if not yet "delivered." — **Τόμυρις**: cf. Hdt. 1, 205–214. — **μυρία σφαλείς**: *after meeting with no end of disasters*, e.g. the loss of his army sent to reduce the Ethiopians. Hdt. 3, 25. — **Ἆπιν**: for the "marks" of the sacred calf, his epiphany during the stay of Cambyses in Egypt, his death from the wound inflicted by Cambyses, etc., see Hdt. 3, 27–29. — **Ὢ πολλοῦ γέλωτος**: *oh, what lots of fun!* For gen. cf. note to *Vit. Auct.* 13. — **προσβλέψειεν**: Reitz. tr. At nunc quis eos aspicere sustineat?

14. ὁ τὸ διάδημα: see Introd. 30. — **ὁ μάγειρος**: the *chef.* The functions of *cook* and *butcher* were combined even in Polycrates's establishment. — **ἀναδί-**

τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀνατεμών,
νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ; βασιλεὺς δέ τις εὔχεται εἶναι.

ΕΡΜ. Εὖ γε παρῳδεῖς, ὦ Χάρων. ἀλλὰ Πολυκράτην ὁρᾷς τὸν Σαμίων τύραννον πανευδαίμονα ἡγούμενον εἶναι· ἀτὰρ καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεστῶτος οἰκέτου Μαιανδρίου προδοθεὶς Ὀροίτῃ τῷ σατράπῃ ἀνασκολοπισθήσεται ἄθλιος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τοῦ χρόνου· καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπήκουσα.

ΧΑΡ. Ἄγαμαι Κλωθοῦς· γεννικῶς καῖ' αὐτούς, ὦ βελτίστη, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπότεμνε καὶ ἀνασκολόπιζε, ὡς εἰδῶσιν ἄνθρωποι ὄντες· ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ ἐπαιρέσθων ὡς ἂν ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου ἀλγεινότερον καταπεσούμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ γελάσομαι τότε γνωρίσας αὐτῶν ἕκαστον γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ σκαφιδίῳ μήτε τὴν πορφυρίδα μήτε τιάραν ἢ κλίνην χρυσῆν κομίζοντας.

15 ΕΡΜ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων ὧδε ἕξει. τὴν δὲ πληθὺν ὁρᾷς, ὦ Χάρων, τοὺς πλέοντας αὐτῶν, τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, τοὺς

δωσι: *restores.* See Hdt. 3, 41 ff., for story of Polycrates. — **νήσῳ** κτλ.: the parody is a combination of *Od.* 1, 50 and 5, 450. — **ἀνασκολοπισθήσεται**: a favorite Oriental punishment. That this word means also *crucify* is best seen in *Jud. Vocal.* 12 μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ (i.e. the letter T) τὸ πλάσμα ἔπειτα σχήματι τοιούτῳ ξύλα τεκτήναντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ' αὐτά. Cf. also the references to the Crucifixion in *Peregr.* 11 and 13. — **ἐκπεσὼν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας**: Oedipus is a stock illustration. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1189 ff.:

> τίς γάρ, τίς ἀνὴρ πλέον
> τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει
> ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσον δοκεῖν
> καὶ δόξαντ' ἀποκλῖναι;

Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1327 ff., supra, p. 20, note 1. — **καὶ ταῦτα γάρ**: (don't be surprised at my knowing so much,) *for this also*, etc. — **Ἄγαμαι Κλωθοῦς**: *Clotho's the one for me! Give them, my dear lady, a royal scorching.* For defence of ἄγαμαι etc. see Fritzsche ad loc., who compares amabo te, *I entreat you;* but his best illustration is from Aristophanes *Ach.* 485–488: ὦ τάλαινα καρδία . . . τόλμησον . . . ἄγαμαι καρδίας. — **καῖ' αὐτούς** . . . **ἀπότεμνε** . . . **ἀνασκολόπιζε** refer respectively to Croesus on the pyre, the death of Cyrus, and that of Polycrates. — **γυμνόν**: cf. *D. Mort.* 10, where the embarking passengers are stripped of their fortunes and their fat, their pride of pedigree, their beards and baggage. — **μήτε** . . . **μήτε**: for οὔτε: see Introd. 39 (*e*).

δικαζομένους, τοὺς γεωργοῦντας, τοὺς δανείζοντας, τοὺς προσαιτοῦντας;

ΧΑΡ. Ὁρῶ ποικίλην τινὰ τὴν διατριβὴν καὶ μεστὸν ταραχῆς τὸν βίον καὶ τὰς πόλεις γε αὐτῶν ἐοικυίας τοῖς σμήνεσιν, ἐν οἷς ἅπας μὲν ἴδιόν τι κέντρον ἔχει καὶ τὸν πλησίον κεντεῖ, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ὥσπερ σφῆκες ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι τὸ ὑποδεέστερον. ὁ δὲ περιπετόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκ τἀφανοῦς οὗτος ὄχλος τίνες εἰσίν;

ΕΡΜ. Ἐλπίδες, ὦ Χάρων, καὶ δείματα καὶ ἄγνοιαι καὶ ἡδοναὶ καὶ φιλαργυρίαι καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ μίση καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τούτων δὲ ἡ ἄγνοια μὲν κάτω ξυναναμέμικται αὐτοῖς καὶ ξυμπολιτεύεταί γε νὴ Δία καὶ τὸ μῖσος καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ ζηλοτυπία καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἀπορία καὶ φιλαργυρία. ὁ φόβος δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐλπίδες ὑπεράνω πετόμενοι ὁ μὲν ἐμπίπτων ἐκπλήττει, ἐνίοτε καὶ ὑποπτήσσειν ποιεῖ, αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αἰωρούμεναι, ὁπόταν μάλιστα οἴηταί τις ἐπιλήψεσθαι αὐτῶν, ἀναπτάμεναι οἴχονται κεχηνότας αὐτοὺς ἀπολιποῦσαι, ὅπερ καὶ τὸν Τάνταλον κάτω πάσχοντα ὁρᾷς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος.

16 ἢν δὲ ἀτενίσῃς, κατόψει καὶ τὰς Μοίρας ἄνω ἐπικλωθούσας

15. **δικαζομένους**: this was a usual hit at the Athenians. So Strepsiades (Ar. *Nub.* 208) cannot believe that he sees Athens on the map ἐπεὶ δικαστὰς οὐχ ὁρῶ καθημένους. In *Icar.* 16 the kingdoms of men and their manners are seen from above: τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους γεωργοῦντας ἐπέβλεπον, καὶ ὁ Φοῖνιξ δὲ ἐνεπορεύετο καὶ ὁ Κίλιξ ἐλῄστευε καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἐμαστιγοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐδικάζετο. — **ποικίλην**: *motley, ever-shifting.* The meaning shifts from the purely external, e.g. Joseph's many-colored coat (Gen. 37, 23 τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν ποικίλον), to the subtlety of Prometheus (Aesch. *Prom.* 308 καίπερ ὄντι ποικίλῳ). — **κέντρον . . . σφῆκες**: the *Wasps* of Aristophanes ridicules the abuses in the Athenian law-courts. — **ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι**: cf. Lat. agere et ferre. — **Ἐλπίδες**: the one solitary blessing is named first — that one saved in Pandora's jar. For the plurals see Introd. 22. — **κεχηνότας**: the ever-recurring thought. Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 421 ff.: "Beside him fancies stand that bring vain joy, aye, vain — for, when one thinketh to behold what 's good, the vision, slipping through his hands, is gone, or e'er it hath appeared, with wings that company on the paths of sleep."

16. **τὰς Μοίρας ἄνω ἐπικλωθούσας**: see the elaborate description in Plato *Rep.* 617 c (see above, § 13). The pious Pausanias (1, 40, 3), describing the "Hours" and the "Fates" in the air

ἑκάστῳ τὸν ἄτρακτον, ἀφ' οὗ ἠρτῆσθαι ξυμβέβηκεν ἅπαντας ἐκ λεπτῶν νημάτων. ὁρᾷς καθάπερ ἀράχνιά τινα καταβαίνοντα ἐφ' ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτράκτων;

ΧΑΡ. Ὁρῶ πάνυ λεπτὸν ἑκάστῳ νῆμα ἐπιπεπλεγμένον γε τὰ πολλά, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκείνῳ, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἄλλῳ.

ΕΡΜ. Εἰκότως, ὦ πορθμεῦ· εἵμαρται γὰρ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτου φονευθῆναι, τούτῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἄλλου, καὶ κληρονομῆσαί γε τοῦτον μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅτου ἂν ᾖ μικρότερον τὸ νῆμα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ αὖ τούτου· τοιόνδε γάρ τι ἡ ἐπιπλοκὴ δηλοῖ. ὁρᾷς δ' οὖν ἀπὸ λεπτοῦ κρεμαμένους ἅπαντας; καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀνασπασθεὶς ἄνω μετέωρός ἐστι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν καταπεσών, ἀπορραγέντος τοῦ λίνου, ἐπειδὰν μηκέτι ἀντέχῃ πρὸς τὸ βάρος, μέγαν τὸν ψόφον ἐργάσεται, οὗτος δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ γῆς αἰωρούμενος, ἢν καὶ πέσῃ, ἀψοφητὶ κείσεται, μόλις καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐξακουσθέντος τοῦ πτώματος.

ΧΑΡ. Παγγέλοια ταῦτα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ.

17 ΕΡΜ. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἔχοις ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὅπως ἐστὶ καταγέλαστα, ὦ Χάρων, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ ἄγαν σπουδαὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλπίδων οἴχεσθαι

above the statue of Zeus Μοιραγέτης in the temple at Megara, is careful to explain δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Πεπρωμένην μόνῳ οἱ (Zeus) πείθεσθαι. — **τὸν ἄτρακτον** κτλ.: (spinning) *their spindle from which* (are suspended) *by threads.* Hence ἄτρακτος does not here mean *thread* (as Schmid, I, 391, takes it) but, as the Eng. *spindle* may mean a given length (e.g. a spindle of cotton is 18 hanks or 15,120 yards), so we find in *Catapl.* 7 σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅλον μοι τὸν ἄτρακτον ἐπέκλωσας *thou hast almost spun out for me the whole spindle.* Either meaning would be possible in *Jupp. Conf.* 19 κλώθων ἄτρακτον τοσούτων πραγμάτων μεστόν. Cf. Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Fusus." The association of the Skt. *tarkú* 'spindle' with Lat. torqueo and τρέπω suggests the probable derivation (*alpha copulativum*) for the Spinster Atropos. — **τὰ πολλά**: the article is unusual (cf. Schmid, I, 234, for examples). — **ἀψοφητὶ κείσεται**: κείσεται is used in a pregnant sense, *will fall and lie there* (*and never a sound will have been heard*). It would be more logical to have πεσεῖται (see App.), but it is hardly necessary; cf. too, in *Jud. Vocal.* 2 (where Sigma fears that he will turn into a mere ψόφος), the expression ἐν ἴσῳ δὲ κεῖσθαι τοῦ ψόφου.

ἀναρπάστους γιγνομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου Θανάτου. ἄγγελοι δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέται αὐτοῦ μάλα πολλοί, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἠπίαλοι καὶ πυρετοὶ καὶ φθόαι καὶ περιπνευμονίαι καὶ ξίφη καὶ λῃστήρια καὶ κώνεια καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ τύραννοι· καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ὅλως αὐτοὺς εἰσέρχεται ἔστ' ἂν εὖ πράττωσιν, ὅταν δὲ σφαλῶσι, πολὺ τὸ ὀττοτοῖ καὶ αἰαῖ καὶ οἴμοι. εἰ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνενόουν ὅτι θνητοί τέ εἰσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ ὀλίγον τοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιδημήσαντες τῷ βίῳ ἀπίασιν ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀνείρατος πάντα ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀφέντες, ἔζων τε ἂν σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἧττον ἠνιῶντο ἀποθανόντες· νῦν δὲ εἰς ἀεὶ ἐλπίσαντες χρήσεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπειδὰν ἐπιστὰς ὁ ὑπηρέτης καλῇ καὶ ἀπάγῃ πεδήσας τῷ πυρετῷ ἢ τῇ φθόῃ, ἀγανακτοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν οὔποτε προσδοκήσαντες ἀποσπασθήσεσθαι αὐτῶν. ἢ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὴν οἰκίαν σπουδῇ οἰκοδομούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας ἐπισπέρχων, εἰ μάθοι ὅτι ἣ μὲν ἕξει τέλος αὐτῷ, ὃ δὲ ἄρτι ἐπιθεὶς τὸν ὄροφον ἄπεισι τῷ κληρονόμῳ καταλιπὼν ἀπολαύειν αὐτῆς, αὐτὸς μηδὲ δειπνήσας ὁ ἄθλιος ἐν αὐτῇ; ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ὁ χαίρων ὅτι ἄρρενα παῖδα τέτοκεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, καὶ τοὺς φίλους διὰ τοῦτο ἑστιῶν καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦ πατρὸς τιθέμενος, εἰ ἠπίστατο ὡς ἑπτέτης γενόμενος ὁ παῖς

17. τοῦ βελτίστου Θανάτου: *my excellent (colleague) Sir Death.* — **κώνεια**: e.g. the execution of Socrates. And cf. Lys. 12, 17 *παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πίνειν κώνειον.* — **πολὺ τὸ . . . οἴμοι**: *thick and fast come the woe! woe's! and the oh! oh's! and the ah me's!* — **ὀλίγον . . . ἐπιδημήσαντες τῷ βίῳ**: *after this brief sojourn in life:* contrast with Plato's *Apol.* 40 E *εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημῆσαί ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον.* — **ἐπιστὰς ὁ ὑπηρέτης**: so comes to Socrates the executioner, *Phaedo* 116 B. *ἧκεν ὁ τῶν ἕνδεκα ὑπηρέτης καὶ στὰς παρ' αὐτόν.* Here it is one of the *ὑπηρέται . . . πολλοί* just mentioned. — **ἀποσπασθήσεσθαι αὐτῶν**: *from them*, i.e. *τῶν παρόντων.* — **μηδέ**: for *οὐδέ*: see Introd. 39 (*e*). — **δειπνήσας**: of the house-warming. — **τοῦ πατρός**: (giving it) *his father's name*, i.e. of the grandfather. Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 65. To mean the name of the boy's father the refl. gen. would have been used instead of *τοῦ πατρός.* This was also done, e.g. *Δημοσθένης*

τεθνήξεται. ἆρα ἂν σοι δοκεῖ χαίρειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεννωμένῳ; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅτι τὸν μὲν εὐτυχοῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκεῖνον ὁρᾷ τὸν τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ πατέρα τοῦ Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότος, τὸν γείτονα δὲ τὸν ἐκκομίζοντα τὸ παιδίον οὐχ ὁρᾷ οὐδὲ οἶδεν ἀφ' οἵας αὐτῷ κρόκης ἐκρέματο. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὅρων διαφερομένους ὁρᾷς ὅσοι εἰσί, καὶ τοὺς συναγείροντας τὰ χρήματα, εἶτα, πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι αὐτῶν, καλουμένους ὑφ' ὧν εἶπον τῶν ἀγγέλων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν.

18 ΧΑΡ. Ὁρῶ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν γε ἐννοῶ ὅ τι τὸ ἡδὺ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸν βίον ἢ τί ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, οὗ στερόμενοι ἀγανακτοῦσιν. ἢν γοῦν τοὺς βασιλέας ἴδῃ τις αὐτῶν, οἵπερ εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ἔξω τοῦ ἀβεβαίου καὶ ὡς φῂς ἀμφιβόλου τῆς τύχης, πλείω τῶν ἡδέων τὰ ἀνιαρὰ εὑρήσει προσόντα αὐτοῖς, φόβους καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ μίση καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ κολακείας· τούτοις γὰρ ἅπαντες ξύνεισιν. ἐῶ πένθη καὶ νόσους καὶ πάθη ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας δηλαδὴ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν· ὅπου δὲ τὰ τούτων πονηρά, λογί-
10 ζεσθαι καιρὸς οἷα τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἂν εἴη. ἐθέλω δ' οὖν σοι, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, εἰπεῖν ᾧτινι ἐοικέναι μοι ἔδοξαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὁ βίος ἅπας αὐτῶν. ἤδη ποτὲ πομφόλυγας ἐν ὕδατι ἐθεάσω ὑπὸ κρουνῷ τινι καταράττοντι ἀνισταμένας; τὰς φυσαλίδας λέγω, ἀφ' ὧν ξυναγείρεται ὁ ἀφρός· ἐκείνων τοίνυν αἳ μέν

Δημοσθένους. For the christening festival celebrated on the tenth day see Gulick, p. 73. — **νενικηκότος**: *famed as victor;* note tense. For the fame accruing to family and to native place as well, see the serenade to Lachon, Bacchyl. 6, Κέον εὐκλέιξας. — **ἐκκομίζοντα**: i.e. to his burial. The classical word is ἐκφέρω, and this is retained in Acts 5, 6–10.

18. **παρὰ τὸν βίον**: *in (the course of) their life.* This use of παρά is favored by Lucian. Cf. *Pisc.* 25 οἷοι . . . ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ τὸν βίον and 32 παρὰ ζῶντας ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐξέτασις . . . ἐγίγνετο. — **ἔξω**: *aside from.* — **φόβους** κτλ.: for plural of abstract nouns used concretely cf. Gildersleeve, *S. C. G.* 44 and 45. — **ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας**: *on the common level.* — **τὰ τούτων**: i.e. βασιλέων. — **καιρός**: *it's high time.*

19. **πομφόλυγας**: onomatopoetic redupl. Around Charon's boat the Frogs' choral had burst in a triumphant blare of bubbles, πομφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν. Ar. *Ran.* 249. — **ἀπέσβησαν**

τινες μικραί εἰσι καὶ αὐτίκα ἐκραγεῖσαι ἀπέσβησαν, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ πλέον διαρκοῦσι καὶ προσχωρουσῶν αὐταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερφυσώμεναι ἐς μέγιστον ὄγκον αἴρονται, εἶτα μέντοι κἀκεῖναι πάντως ἐξερράγησάν ποτε· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἄλλως γενέσθαι. τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ ἀνθρώπου βίος· ἅπαντες ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐμπεφυσημένοι οἱ μὲν μείζους, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔχουσι καὶ ὠκύμορον τὸ φύσημα, οἱ δὲ ἅμα τῷ ξυστῆναι ἐπαύσαντο· πᾶσι δ' οὖν ἀπορραγῆναι ἀναγκαῖον.

ΕΡΜ. Οὐδὲν χεῖρον σὺ τοῦ Ὁμήρου εἴκασας, ὦ Χάρων, ὃς φύλλοις τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁμοιοῖ.

20 ΧΑΡ. Καὶ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ὁρᾷς οἷα ποιοῦσι καὶ ὡς φιλοτιμοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀρχῶν πέρι καὶ τιμῶν καὶ κτήσεων ἁμιλλώμενοι, ἅπερ ἅπαντα καταλιπόντας αὐτοὺς δεήσει ἕνα ὀβολὸν ἔχοντας ἥκειν παρ' ἡμᾶς. βούλει οὖν, ἐπείπερ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἐσμεν, ἀναβοήσας παμμέγεθες παραινέσω αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τῶν ματαίων πόνων, ζῆν δὲ ἀεὶ τὸν θάνατον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντας, λέγων, Ὦ μάταιοι, τί ἐσπουδάκατε περὶ ταῦτα; παύσασθε κάμνοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς ἀεὶ βιώσεσθε· οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα σεμνῶν ἀΐδιόν ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπάγοι τις αὐτῶν τι ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀποθανών, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη

. . . **ἐξερράγησαν**: note the gnomic aorists combined with the presents. Cf. GMT. 157. — **ὁ ἀνθρώπου βίος**: cf. the song:

> Man's life 's a vapor full of woes,
> He bursts the bubble,
> Up he goes!

— **οἱ δὲ ἅμα . . . δ' οὖν**: *and others are no sooner formed than they cease to be; anyhow all* . . . — **φύλλοις τὸ γένος**: cf. *Il.* 6, 146 ff.:

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

20. ἕνα ὀβολόν: Charon's prescribed fee. In Aristophanes's *Frogs* 270, however, Dionysus gives two obols — ἔχε δὴ τὠβολώ — perhaps as payment for a round-trip ticket. Certainly he had occupied no *cabine de luxe*, and Xanthias had gone on foot around the lake. For the Roman equivalent cf. Juvenal *Sat.* 3, 267, where unlooked-for death seats the corpse by the bank nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem. See p. 19. — **θάνατον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν**: the Egyptians provided for this by bringing in at their feasts a wooden corpse (Hdt. 2, 78). — **οὐδ' ἂν ἀπάγοι τις αὐτῶν τι**: cf. Job 1, 21 "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return

αὐτὸν μὲν γυμνὸν οἴχεσθαι, τὴν οἰκίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀεὶ ἄλλων εἶναι καὶ μεταβάλλειν τοὺς δεσπότας. εἰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ ἐπηκόου ἐμβοήσαιμι αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἂν οἴει μεγάλα ὠφεληθῆναι τὸν βίον καὶ σωφρονεστέρους ἂν γενέσθαι παρὰ πολύ;

21 ΕΡΜ. Ὦ μακάριε, οὐκ οἶσθα ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη διατεθείκασιν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τρυπάνῳ ἔτι διανοιχθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ὦτα· τοσούτῳ κηρῷ ἔβυσαν αὐτὰ οἷόν περ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἔδρασε δέει τῆς Σειρήνων ἀκροάσεως. πόθεν οὖν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἀκοῦσαι δυνηθεῖεν, ἢν καὶ σὺ κεκραγὼς διαρραγῇς; ὅπερ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ Λήθη δύναται, τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἄγνοια ἐργάζεται. πλὴν ἀλλ' εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι οὐ παραδεδεγμένοι τὸν κηρὸν ἐς τὰ ὦτα πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποκλίνοντες, ὀξὺ δεδορκότες ἐς τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατεγνωκότες οἷά ἐστιν.

ΧΑΡ. Οὐκοῦν ἐκείνοις γοῦν ἐμβοήσωμεν;

ΕΡΜ. Περιττὸν καὶ τοῦτο, λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἃ ἴσασιν. ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἀποσπάσαντες τῶν πολλῶν καταγελῶσι τῶν γιγνομένων καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἀρέσκονται αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ δῆλοί εἰσι δρασμὸν ἤδη βουλεύοντες παρ' ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου; καὶ γὰρ καὶ μισοῦνται ἐλέγχοντες αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαθίας.

thither."—**μεταβάλλειν τοὺς δεσπότας**: for vivid description of an inheritance passing to the heir read *Tim.* 21 22.—**ἐξ ἐπηκόου**: *from some place within earshot.* Cf. *Icar.* 23, where Zeus, desirous of catching the prayers, goes *ἐς τὸ ἐπηκοώτατον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, i.e. where the vaulted sounding-board gave the best results.

21. **Ὦ μακάριε**: *you blessed simpleton!*—**ὡς**: = *ὥστε*. See Introd. 26.—**Σειρήνων**: *Od.* 12, 158.—**ἢν . . . κεκραγὼς διαρραγῇς**: *no matter if you bawl and bawl again till you burst.* For the perfects in this paragraph see Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 226-231: *κεκραγώς* and *δεδορκότες* are "intensive" perfects; *κατεγνωκότες having come to know* ("maintenance of result"); *παραδεδεγμένοι . . . ὦτα their ears filled full of the wax*, 226.—**ἡ Λήθη**: for Lethe and also ὁ Ἀμέλης ποταμός cf. Plato *Rep.* 621 A and C.—**Περιττόν**: *superfluous.*—**δρασμὸν βουλεύοντες**: Socrates had condemned suicide as cowardly desertion (λιποταξία).—**μισοῦνται ἐλέγχοντες**

ΧΑΡ. Εὖ γε, ὦ γεννάδαι· πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι εἰσίν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ.

ΕΡΜ. Ἱκανοὶ καὶ οὗτοι. ἀλλὰ κατίωμεν ἤδη.

22 ΧΑΡ. Ἓν ἔτι ἐπόθουν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, εἰδέναι, καί μοι δείξας αὐτὸ ἐντελῆ ἔσῃ τὴν περιήγησιν πεποιημένος — τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν σωμάτων, ἵνα κατορύττουσι, θεάσασθαι.

ΕΡΜ. Ἠρία, ὦ Χάρων, καὶ τύμβους καὶ τάφους καλοῦσι τὰ τοιαῦτα. πλὴν τὰ πρὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐκεῖνα τὰ χώματα ὁρᾷς καὶ τὰς στήλας καὶ πυραμίδας; ἐκεῖνα πάντα νεκροδοχεῖα καὶ σωματοφυλάκιά ἐστι.

ΧΑΡ. Τί οὖν ἐκεῖνοι στεφανοῦσι τοὺς λίθους καὶ χρίουσι μύρῳ, οἳ δὲ καὶ πυρὰν νήσαντες πρὸ τῶν χωμάτων καὶ βόθρον τινὰ ὀρύξαντες καίουσί τε ταυτὶ τὰ πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα

κτλ.: this was the experience of Socrates (*Apol.* 21 E), καὶ ἐνταῦθα κἀκείνῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀπηχθόμην, and it was Lucian's also (cf. *Pisc.*).

22. **Ἓν ἔτι ἐπόθουν εἰδέναι**: *I did want to know still one thing more.* — **ἔσῃ . . . πεποιημένος**: for periphrastic form see Introd. 20. — **ἀποθήκας**: *dépôts.* Charon, as an expert, would inspect the terminal facilities. — **ἵνα**: *where.* — **θεάσασθαι**: in appos. with εἰδέναι (if the text is correct). — **Ἠρία . . . τάφους**: *cairns and tombs and graves.* — **πρὸ τῶν πόλεων**: there still remain in situ some beautiful monuments along the Street of Tombs, outside the Dipylon at Athens (cf. Paus. 1, 29, 2–8; Gulick, pp. 9 and 296). Thinking of later times Lucian might let Charon see also the tombs along the Appian Way. — **χώματα . . . πυραμίδας**: *mounds, memorial slabs, and pyramids.* For the stelae see Gulick, pp. 298 ff. The pyramid of C. Sestius, still a familiar landmark in the Roman wall, may be in Lucian's mind as well as the pyramids of Egypt. — **νεκροδοχεῖα καὶ σωματοφυλάκια**: "*lodging-vaults and body-wards.*" These are compounds made up for Charon's benefit. The first is meant to give comic force, as a technical term like Latin c o l u m b a r i a (*pigeon-holes*), but grimly suggesting ξενοδοχεῖον. Cf. the compound νεκρακαδημία *V. H.* B 23. σωματοφυλάκιον is as good for the purpose as χρηματοφυλάκιον *treasury.* — **στεφανοῦσι**: cf. *de Luctu* 19 where the corpse indignantly exclaims τί δὲ (sc. με ὀνίνησιν) ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάφου λίθος ἐστεφανωμένος; — **καὶ πυράν**: for the choice between burial and cremation see Gulick, p. 296. In *de Luctu* 18 the corpse balances the probabilities τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν διασαπέντων ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία καέντων μετ' ὀλίγον, εἴ γε (*supposing, as is not impossible*) καῦσαί με διεγνώκατε (*you have decided to cremate me*). — **καίουσι**: in *Philops.* 27 the ghost of Demaenete returns to insist upon the cremation of

καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀρύγματα οἶνον καὶ μελίκρατον, ὡς γοῦν εἰκάσαι, ἐκχέουσιν;

ΕΡΜ. Οὐκ οἶδα, ὦ πορθμεῦ, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἅιδου· πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὡς οἷόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κνῖσαν καὶ τὸν καπνόν, πίνειν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βόθρου τὸ μελίκρατον.

ΧΑΡ. Ἐκείνους ἔτι πίνειν ἢ ἐσθίειν, ὧν τὰ κρανία ξηρότατα; καίτοι γελοῖός εἰμι σοὶ λέγων ταῦτα ὁσημέραι κατάγοντι αὐτούς. οἶσθα οὖν εἰ δύναιντ᾽ ἂν ἔτι ἀνελθεῖν ἅπαξ ὑποχθόνιοι γενόμενοι. ἐπεί τοι καὶ παγγέλοι᾽ ἄν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἔπασχες, οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα ἔχων, εἰ ἔδει μὴ κατάγειν μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις ἀνάγειν πιομένους. ὦ μάταιοι, τῆς ἀνοίας, οὐκ εἰδότες ἡλίκοις ὅροις διακέκριται τὰ νεκρῶν καὶ τὰ ζώντων πράγματα καὶ οἷα τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐστι καὶ ὅτι

κάτθαν᾽ ὁμῶς ὅ τ᾽ ἄτυμβος ἀνὴρ ὅς τ᾽ ἔλλαχε τύμβου,
ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ Ἶρος κρείων τ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνων·
Θερσίτῃ δ᾽ ἶσος Θέτιδος παῖς ἠυκόμοιο.
πάντες δ᾽ εἰσὶν ὁμῶς νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα,
γυμνοί τε ξηροί τε κατ᾽ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα.

her other golden sandal.— **τί ταῦτα**: sc. δύναται. Cf. *Light of Asia*, Book III:

No appetites, no pleasures, and no pains
Hath such: the kiss upon his lips is nought,
The fire-scorch nought; he smelleth not his flesh
A-roast, nor yet the sandal and the spice
They burn.

So in *de Luctu* 19 the corpse exclaims: τί ὑμῖν δύναται τὸν ἄκρατον ἐπιχεῖν;— **ἔπασχες**: all Mss. have ἔπασχον. See App. Note tense of πιομένους. — **διακέκριται**: note tense; "there is a great gulf fixed."— **κάτθαν᾽** κτλ.: a potpourri of Homeric parodies; *Il.* 9, 319–320 will illustrate Charon's method:

ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἠμὲν κακὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός·
κάτθαν᾽ ὁμῶς ὅ τ᾽ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώς.

For the rest cf. *Od.* 10, 521; 11, 529–573. For Iros the beggar *Od.* 18, 1–6; for Thersites *Il.* 2, 212. These *disiecta membra Homeri* may be translated:

Died all the same the unsepulchred man and the man in his coffin,
One and the same is the honor to Iros and Lord Agamemnon,
Fair-hair'd Thetis's son is down on a par with Thersites.
Bald-pated corpses alike and together all feeble and ghostly
Naked and bleaching they lie here and there on the asphodel meadow.

23 ΕΡΜ. Ἡράκλεις, ὡς πολὺν τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπαντλεῖς. ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ἀνέμνησάς με, ἐθέλω σοι δεῖξαι τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον. ὁρᾷς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ; Σίγειον μὲν ἐκεῖνό ἐστι τὸ Τρωικόν· ἀντικρὺ δὲ ὁ Αἴας τέθαπται ἐν τῷ Ῥοιτείῳ.

ΧΑΡ. Οὐ μεγάλοι, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, οἱ τάφοι. τὰς πόλεις δὲ τὰς ἐπισήμους δεῖξόν μοι ἤδη, ἃς κάτω ἀκούομεν, τὴν Νίνον τὴν Σαρδαναπάλλου καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Μυκήνας καὶ Κλεωνὰς καὶ τὴν Ἴλιον αὐτήν· πολλοὺς γοῦν μέμνημαι διαπορθμεύσας ἐκεῖθεν, ὡς δέκα ὅλων ἐτῶν μὴ νεωλκῆσαι μηδὲ διαψῦξαι τὸ σκαφίδιον.

ΕΡΜ. Ἡ Νίνος μέν, ὦ πορθμεῦ, ἀπόλωλεν ἤδη καὶ οὐδὲ ἴχνος ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτῆς, οὐδ' ἂν εἴποις ὅπου ποτὲ ἦν· ἡ Βαβυλὼν δέ σοι ἐκείνη ἐστὶν ἡ εὔπυργος, ἡ τὸν μέγαν περίβολον, οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὴ ζητηθησομένη ὥσπερ ἡ Νίνος· Μυκήνας δὲ καὶ Κλεωνὰς αἰσχύνομαι δεῖξαί σοι, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Ἴλιον. ἀποπνίξεις γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὸν Ὅμηρον κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαληγορίᾳ τῶν ἐπῶν. πλὴν ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἦσαν εὐδαίμονες, νῦν δὲ τεθνᾶσι καὶ αὗται· ἀποθνήσκουσι γάρ, ὦ πορθμεῦ, καὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι,

23. Ἡράκλεις . . . ἐπαντλεῖς: *Heracles! What a lot of Homeric bilge-water you do bale out on me!* — **νεωλκῆσαι** κτλ.: *to put my boat in the dry-dock.* — **ἡ . . . περίβολον**: see Introd. 30. — **ἀποπνίξεις**: in *D. Mort.* 19 Aeacus has to call "hands off" to Protesilaus: τί ἄγχεις τὴν Ἑλένην προσπεσών; — **Κλεωνάς**: although this necrology of ancient cities was substantially true for Lucian's time, yet at the time assumed for this dialogue Cleonae was administering the Nemean games (see Grote c. xxviii); it even survived for Pausanias (2, 15, 1) to speak of as πόλις . . . οὐ μεγάλη, when on his way to see the ruins of Mycenae. — **καὶ πόλεις**: Servius Sulpicius (Cic. *Ep. Fam.* 4, 5, cited by Williams) tries to console Cicero for his daughter's death by recalling his feelings on looking about him as he was sailing once from Aegina to Megara: Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: "Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidûm cadavera

καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, καὶ ποταμοὶ ὅλοι· Ἰνάχου γοῦν οὐδὲ τάφρος ἔτι ἐν Ἄργει καταλείπεται.

ΧΑΡ. Παπαῖ τῶν ἐπαίνων, Ὅμηρε, καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων,
24 Ἴλιος ἱρὴ καὶ εὐρυάγυια καὶ ἐυκτίμεναι Κλεωναί. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ λόγων τίνες ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ὑπὲρ τίνος ἀλλήλους φονεύουσιν;

ΕΡΜ. Ἀργείους ὁρᾷς, ὦ Χάρων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν ἡμιθνῆτα ἐκεῖνον στρατηγὸν Ὀθρυάδαν τὸν ἐπιγράφοντα τὸ τρόπαιον τῷ αὑτοῦ αἵματι.

ΧΑΡ. Ὑπὲρ τίνος δ' αὐτοῖς, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ὁ πόλεμος;

ΕΡΜ. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ μάχονται.

ΧΑΡ. Ὢ τῆς ἀνοίας, οἵ γε οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι, κἂν ὅλην τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν κτήσωνται, μόγις ἂν ποδιαῖον λάβοιεν τόπον παρὰ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ· τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι γεωργήσουσι πολλάκις ἐκ βάθρων τὸ τρόπαιον ἀνασπάσαντες τῷ ἀρότρῳ.

ΕΡΜ. Οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἔσται· ἡμεῖς δὲ καταβάντες ἤδη καὶ κατὰ χώραν εὐθετήσαντες αὖθις τὰ ὄρη ἀπαλλαττώμεθα,

proiecta iacent?" — **Ἰνάχου**: the modern *Panitza* when swollen by winter rains, uniting with the Charadros (mod. Xerias) between Argos and Tiryns, still makes its way to the sea. Baedeker, *Greece*, p. 250. But cf. Paus. 2, 15, 5.

24. Ὀθρυάδαν: see Hdt. 1, 82 for the story. Othryades fixes the attention somewhat as Horatius surviving his two brothers in a similar, but more select, *duellum*. The "Complete Rhetorician" must have these stock allusions always at hand; cf. *Rhet. Praec.* 18 καὶ ἀεὶ ὁ Ἄθως πλείσθω . . . καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν βελῶν σκεπέσθω . . . καὶ τὰ Ὀθρυάδου γράμματα ἀναγινωσκέσθω. — **πεδίου**: i.e. Cynuria, the small, but important, frontier coast-strip between Argolis and Laconia. Menippus (*Icar.* 18), looking down from the sky, says contemptuously that it is no wider than φακοῦ Αἰγυπτίου. — **ποδιαῖον**: probably a foot each way, i.e. a *square* foot; a *front* foot on Acheron Avenue without a rear line would have been as incautious a land-grant as those of our early colonies. Yet full-sized femora could not lie flat in this space. Cf. also *Men.* 17, where Aeacus requires each new-comer to *pull himself together, lie down, and be content with his quarters*: ἀγαπῶντα κατακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέτρον συνεσταλμένον . . . δίδωσι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον οὐ πλέον ποδός. — **ἐκ βάθρων . . . τῷ ἀρότρῳ**:

ἐγὼ μὲν καθ' ἃ ἐστάλην, σὺ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πορθμεῖον· ἥξω δέ σοι καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ὀλίγον νεκροστολῶν.

ΧΑΡ. Εὖ γε ἐποίησας, ὦ Ἑρμῆ· εὐεργέτης εἰς ἀεὶ ἀναγεγράψῃ. ὠνάμην τι διὰ σὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας. — οἷά ἐστι τὰ τῶν κακοδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. βασιλεῖς, πλίνθοι χρυσαῖ, ἐπιτύμβια, μάχαι. Χάρωνος δὲ οὐδεὶς λόγος.

cf. Southey's *Battle of Blenheim.* — **καθ' ἃ ἐστάλην**: cf. supra § 1 *ἀπέρχομαί τι διακονησόμενος τῷ ἄνω Διί.* One of these errands is immortalized in the Olympia group by Praxiteles, representing Hermes with his infant brother Dionysus. — **νεκροστολῶν**: *with a flock of corpses.* L. & S. s.v. wrongly refer to Charon, and trans. *ferrying the dead.* A similar confusion is to be assumed in the Mss. above, giving rise to *ἔπασχον* instead of the second person. — **εὐεργέτης . . . ἀναγεγράψῃ**: Charon (of all persons) promises Hermes one of the conventional votive slabs! Cf. *Pisc.* 38 *εὐεργέτην ἀναγεγράφθαι.* — **οἷα . . . ἀνθρώπων**: Charon exclaims (with Puck) "Lord, what fools these mortals be!" — **βασιλεῖς . . . λόγος**: *kings, golden ingots, funeral rites, battles, but never a word about Charon.* From the foregoing dialogue Charon selects the important details in order, i.e. Croesus, Cyrus, Tomyris, Polycrates (*βασιλεῖς* §§ 9–18); the votive offerings sent to Delphi (*πλίνθοι χρυσαῖ* § 11); the libations and other vain observances at the tomb (see § 22 and App. on *ἐπιτύμβια* § 24); the contest between the Argives and the Spartans (*μάχαι* § 24), which is the crowning absurdity in his eyes. — **Χάρωνος . . . λόγος**: this is a reminiscence of Ar. *Ran.* 87; 107; 115, where the slave Xanthias keeps interjecting *περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος.* Lucian uses the formula in two other passages, omitting the *περί*: i.e. *Catapl.* 14, where the poor shoemaker exclaims *εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κλωθοῖ, ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν λόγος*; and *Fugit.* 28 *ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς λόγος.* The words *βασιλεῖς* to *μάχαι* inclusive, often left out by edd., are necessary to the artistic unity of the climax; see App.

VERA HISTORIA

INTRODUCTION

In the *Vera Historia* more than in any other of his writings, the *Asinus*[1] perhaps excepted, Lucian has allowed his fertile fancy to have its way, careless of the moral to be enforced. A moral, indeed, there is. He must mock at the poets and pseudo-historians as inventors of fables. At the end, after our mad journey in the air, we glide down the iridescent rainbow of his fantasy to earth again and stand somewhat dazed amidst the contraband fardels that we have smuggled through the "ivory gates."

As the *Syrian Goddess*,[2] mocking, scantily draped with ecclesiastic stole, renders ridiculous the naïve credulity of Herodotus or that of his lying imitators, so we turn not to Lucian's *How* [*not*] *to Write History* — that somewhat unsuccessful attempt to be didactic and constructive — but to its sequel, the *True History*, to find a better codification of the laws and a clearer map of the boundaries of the neutral zone which lies between the belligerent armies of fact and fancy.

The moral comes first, the sugar-coating is within. In the opening of Part A[3] he makes his *apologia*. He mentions a few of the right honorable liars who have preceded him, like Homer's Odysseus, like innumerable poets, philosophers, and the historians such as Ctesias[4] and Iambulus[5] and others who, he says, will be recognized unnamed. He adds in substance (§ 4): "I did not blame

[1] The authorship of the *Asinus* is much debated. Croiset does not accept it.

[2] For authenticity see Introd., p. xvi, note 2.

[3] Part B only is included in these selections.

[4] For Ctesias and Herodotus cf. *Philops.* 2. Also for Ctesias cf. *Ctesiae fragmenta de rebus Indicis*, in *Herodotus* ed. Carolus Müller (Parisiis, 1844), sub fin.

[5] For a possible epitome of his lost writings see Diod. Sicul. 2, 55–60.

them so much for their mendacity . . . but what did surprise me was that they expected to escape detection. Wishing, therefore, to play my part in the world of letters and liars, and having no facts to recount — since nothing worth mentioning has ever happened to me — I will say in advance this one true thing, to wit, that I am going to tell you lies. So, then, I write about what I neither saw nor experienced nor heard of from others, and, what's more, about things that never happen at all nor ever could happen."

After this preamble we take ship with Lucian and fifty other companions imbued with these same lofty ideals, and set sail from the Pillars of Heracles out into the Western Ocean. Atlas, vainly trying to hold heaven and earth apart, drops forthwith behind the horizon, and we are suddenly whirled aloft into the heavenly hemisphere away from even wireless worry except for brief glimpses of home affairs reflected in the magic mirror of the moon or seen by the light of the family lamp encountered, as luck would have it, in the Lamp-heaven.

Lucian's conceits never degenerate into mere nursery burlesque. Through the whole narrative he holds us captive, like children, by his air of verisimilitude. He prolongs our appetite by the recurrent intellectual spice of delicate parodies that pervade his satire. He out-Herods Herodotus, whom he really revered for his mastery of narrative style,[1] and he delights to borrow the charms of the Father of History to adorn in mockery the Father of Lies; but in the end he is careful to draw aside the Babylonish garment and show us the ass's shins[2] before he bows us back again into "our own continent that lies opposite."

To say that Lucian invented all his imagery would be to ignore passages,[3] well known to him also, of the *Odyssey*, of Hesiod, Herodotus, Pindar, Plato (e.g. the *Gorgias* and the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*), as well as Horace. Photius, too, in his Μυριοβίβλιον ἢ Βιβλιοθήκη, gives extracts from the *Wonders of the Island Thule* (*Incredibilium de Thule Insula libri xxiv*), by Antonius Diogenes,

[1] See Luc. *Herod.* 7.
[2] *V.H.* B 46.
[3] Cf. infra, § 4, note.

whose story, he claims, is imitated both in the *Vera Historia* and in the *Asinus*.[1]

More difficult is the question of Lucian's indebtedness to versions of tales found in the *Arabian Nights* which may have been current in his Syrian home. Certainly the kingfisher (*V.H.* B 40) and the *rukh* in the "Second Voyage of Sindbad the Sailor"[2] are birds of a feather, and the leviathan fifteen hundred furlongs in length (*V.H.* A 30), which swallows Lucian's ship, is of the same school with the huge fish of "Sindbad's Seventh Voyage."[3]

The alleged reminiscences of the Christian scriptures may most of them be dismissed as obvious allusions to other writings, such as those already cited.[4] It must be admitted, however, that Lucian, Syrian-born as he was, may have had a certain superficial familiarity with the teaching, and even the phraseology, of the Christians to whom he alludes with patronizing kindliness in the *Peregrinus*.[5] The chief argument against the assumption of a covert satire upon the New Testament writings is that they were not the common property of his audience and the allusions would usually have failed of appreciation.[6] It must be admitted, however, that the allusion (*V.H.* B 13) to the monthly fruitage of the vines, while the other fruit comes thirteen times yearly, reminds us more forcibly of the Apocalypse (22, 2) than it does of the productive garden of Alcinous (*Od.* 7, 112 ff.).

[1] *καὶ γὰρ τοῦ περὶ ἀληθῶν διηγημάτων Λουκιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ μεταμορφώσεων Λουκίου πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα.* See fragm. of Ant. Diog. in *Erotici Scriptores*, p. 511, c. 13, ed. Hirschig (Parisiis 1856).

[2] Lane's edit. vol. III, c. 20.

[3] Ibid., note 96 on c. 20.

[4] For detailed discussion of these passages see Kühn, *Commentatio qua Lucianus a crimine librorum sacrorum irrisorum liberatur* (1844), esp. pp. 17–22 for *V.H.*; also see Sommerbrodt, Introd. to *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian* (1872), esp. pp. xxxiii–xl; and Croiset, pp. 195 ff.

[5] See Introd. p. xv.

[6] Kühn (l.c.) reminds us that the canon of the New Testament was in process of formation and that only a few copies of these writings were accessible, and that those who betrayed them into the hands of the magistrate were known as *traditores.* He adds: (Lucianus) nullo modo persuadere sibi potuit tantam fore lectoribus suis cum his libris familiaritatem, ut inter legendum tectam suam rerum Christianarum sugillationem percipere possent.

The Vedic literature itself offers some equally striking parallels with the *Vera Historia*. Thus the rivers of honey, milk, and wine (§ 13) recall the rewards to the faithful who are promised (*Atharva-veda* 4, 34, 6) "ponds filled with clarified butter, honey, milk, and curds."[1]

Similar notions of future happiness reappear in various literatures, like the Teutonic and the Celtic. The Irish *Tir Tairngire*[2] (Land of Promise) is an island enjoying never-ending day, a fogless summer. The flowers never wither. Apple-trees abound, bearing at the same time flowers and fruit (cf. *Od.* 7, 122–128). It is rich in milk, ale, and pork. The breezes are laden with sweet music. The inhabitants are exempt from disease and death.

The *Vera Historia* has in turn served as a model, directly or indirectly, for a goodly company[3] — Rabelais, Hans Sachs, Cervantes, Quevedo, Cyrano de Bergerac, Boileau, Swift, Baron Munchausen, down to Jules Verne; but the model is also the master. Rabelais, compared with Lucian, is as coarse-grained as Rubens compared with Paul Veronese. When fancy — not purposed satire — would set our course towards the Fortunate Islands, next after Lucian we are attracted first amongst them all by the quaint German of Hans Sachs's[4] happy *Schlaraffenland* where cooks are but curious superfluities, and sturdy workmen drop like ripe plums, not into the mouths of walking delegates, but each into a pair of honest boots:

> Von Malvasier so sind die brunnen,
> Kommen eym selbst ins Maul gerunnen —
> . . . .
> Und flüget umb (müget ir glauben)
> Gebraten hüner, genß und tauben.
> . . . .
> So wachsen bawern auf den bawmen
> Gleich wie in unserm land die pflawmen.
> Wens zeitig sind, so fallens ab
> Yeder in ein paar Stifel rab.

[1] Cf. Arrowsmith's Kaegi, *The Rigveda*, p. 162.

[2] See *Enc. Brit.* V, p. 352.

[3] See Introd. pp. xxi–xxviii.

[4] For his own acknowledgement of his debt to Lucian see Introd. p. xxii.

ΑΛΗΘΟΥΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου μηκέτι φέρων ἐγὼ τὴν ἐν τῷ κήτει δίαιταν ἀχθόμενός τε τῇ μονῇ μηχανήν τινα ἐζήτουν δι' ἧς ἂν ἐξελθεῖν γένοιτο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν διορύξασι κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν τοῖχον ἀποδρᾶναι, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διεκόπτομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προελθόντες ὅσον πέντε σταδίους οὐδὲν ἠνύομεν, τοῦ μὲν ὀρύγματος ἐπαυσάμεθα, τὴν δὲ ὕλην καῦσαι διέγνωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὸ κῆτος ἀποθανεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ῥᾳδία ἔμελλεν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι ἡ ἔξοδος. ἀρξάμενοι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐραίων ἐκαίομεν, καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας νύκτας ἀναισθήτως εἶχε τοῦ καύματος, ὀγδόῃ δὲ καὶ ἐνάτῃ συνίεμεν αὐτοῦ νοσοῦντος· ἀργότερον γοῦν ἀνέχασκε, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀναχάνοι, ταχὺ συνέμυε. δεκάτῃ δὲ καὶ ἑνδεκάτῃ τέλεον ἀπενενεκροῦτο καὶ δυσῶδες ἦν· τῇ

1. **μηκέτι**: see Introd. 39 (*e*). — **ἐν τῷ κήτει**: in Part A 30 of the *V.H.* Lucian and his fifty companions, ship and all, had been swallowed by a huge fish. — **κατά**: *at;* L. & S. s.v., B, 3. — **διεκόπτομεν**: *we chopped away* (conative). — **τὴν ὕλην**: from the incoming flotsam and detritus the monster (see A 31) had gradually accumulated large holdings of real estate, including a well-wooded tract of land thirty miles in circumference. **ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι**: "future of the past," Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 272, and cf. Soph. *O.T.* 967. — **ἡμέρας . . . ἴσας νύκτας**: *for seven days and nights to match.* A set phrase, cf. § 35 and A 10. — **ἀνέχασκε**: in A 40 the periodic yawning of the monster marks the passing hours: *τῷ δ' ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ πέμπτῃ ἱσταμένου περὶ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ στόματος ἄνοιξιν — ἅπαξ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἑκάστην ἐποίει τὸ κῆτος, ὥστε ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἀνοίξεις τεκμαίρεσθαι τὰς ὥρας — . . . ἄφνω βοὴ . . . ἠκούετο.* — **ἀπενενεκροῦτο**: *he lay mortifying.* For the compound *ἀπεννεκρόω* see App. The plpf. *ἐτεθνήκει* below means *was dead.* *τέλεον* must then

δωδεκάτῃ δὲ μόλις ἐνενοήσαμεν ὡς, εἰ μή τις χανόντος αὐτοῦ ὑποστηρίξειε τοὺς γομφίους ὥστε μηκέτι συγκλεῖσαι, κινδυνεύσομεν κατακλεισθέντες ἐν νεκρῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ μεγάλοις δοκοῖς τὸ στόμα διερείσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπεσκευάζομεν ὕδωρ τε ὡς ἔνι πλεῖστον ἐμβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια· κυβερνᾶν δ' ἔμελλεν ὁ Σκίνθαρος. τῇ
2 δ' ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνελκύσαντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων διαγαγόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀδόντων ἐξάψαντες ἠρέμα καθήκαμεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν· ἐπαναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα καὶ θύσαντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἡμέρας τε τρεῖς ἐπαυλισάμενοι — νηνεμία γὰρ ἦν — τῇ τετάρτῃ ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. ἔνθα δὴ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς νησομαχίας νεκροῖς ἀπηντῶμεν καὶ προσωκέλλομεν, καὶ τὰ σώματα καταμετροῦντες ἐθαυμάζομεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἐπλέομεν εὐκράτῳ ἀέρι χρώμενοι, ἔπειτα βορέου σφοδροῦ πνεύσαντος μέγα κρύος ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐπάγη τὸ πέλαγος οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς βάθος ὅσον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίας ὀργυιάς, ὥστε καὶ ἀποβάντας διαθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου. ἐπιμένοντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τοιόνδε τι ἐπενοήσαμεν — ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος ἦν Σκίνθαρος — σκάψαντες γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι σπήλαιον μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ ἐμείναμεν ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, πῦρ ἀνακαίοντες καὶ σιτούμενοι τοὺς ἰχθῦς· εὑρίσκομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνορύττοντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤδη

mean *throughout*, not *completely*. Cf. *διὰ τέλους*. — **μόλις**: *just in time*. — **ὥστε**: the consecutive clause becomes also final. GMT. 587, 3. — **Σκίνθαρος**: a shipwrecked squatter found by Lucian (A 33) in the fish.

2. **ἀραιωμάτων**: sc. *τῶν ὀδόντων*. Cf. A 30. — **ἐκ τῶν ὀδόντων ἐξάψαντες**: *using his teeth as davits*. — **παρὰ τὸ τρόπαιον**: the victors in the "battle of the islands" (cf. A 42) had staked up on the fish's head one of the hostile islands as a trophy. — **προσωκέλλομεν**: sc. *τὴν ναῦν*: *we beached our boat*. The dead bodies (cf. A 40) were *ὅσον ἡμισταδιαῖοι τὰς ἡλικίας*. — **ὥστε . . . κρυστάλλου**: Lucian takes for granted a public unused to safe ice, as did

ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, προελθόντες καὶ τὴν ναῦν πεπηγυῖαν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ πετάσαντες τὴν ὀθόνην ἐσυρόμεθα ὥσπερ πλέοντες λείως καὶ προσηνῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου διολισθαίνοντες. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ πέμπτῃ ἀλέα τε ἤδη ἦν καὶ ὁ πάγος ἐλύετο καὶ
3 ὕδωρ πάντα αὖθις ἐγίνετο. πλεύσαντες οὖν ὅσον τριακοσίους σταδίους νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ ἐρήμῃ προσηνέχθημεν, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ λαβόντες—ἐπελελοίπει γὰρ ἤδη—καὶ δύο ταύρους ἀγρίους κατατοξεύσαντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν. οἱ δὲ ταῦροι οὗτοι τὰ κέρατα οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὥσπερ ὁ Μῶμος ἠξίου. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ εἰς πέλαγος ἐνεβαίνομεν, οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ γάλακτος· καὶ νῆσος ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο λευκὴ πλήρης ἀμπέλων. ἦν δὲ ἡ νῆσος τυρὸς μέγιστος, πάνυ συμπεπηγώς, ὡς ὕστερον ἐμφαγόντες ἐμάθομεν, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ περίμετρον· αἱ δὲ ἄμπελοι βοτρύων πλήρεις, οὐ μέντοι οἶνον ἀλλὰ γάλα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποθλίβοντες ἐπίνομεν. ἱερὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἐνῳκοδόμητο Γαλατείας τῆς Νηρηίδος, ὡς ἐδήλου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅσον δ' οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖ ἐμείναμεν, ὄψον μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ σιτίον ἡ γῆ ὑπῆρχε, ποτὸν δὲ τὸ γάλα τὸ ἐκ τῶν βοτρύων. βασιλεύειν δὲ τῶν χωρίων τούτων ἐλέγετο Τυρὼ ἡ Σαλμωνέως, μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταύτην παρὰ

Ovid (*Tristia* 3, 10, 33); but cf. Thuc. 3, 23, where the Plataeans crossed the ditch with difficulty, *κρύσταλλός τε γὰρ ἐπεπήγει οὐ βέβαιος*. **λείως . . . διολισθαίνοντες**: technical coloring. Cf. *de Domo* 12 *τὴν δὲ ναῦν . . . λείως ἐπ' ἄκρων ἠρέμα διολισθάνουσαν τῶν κυμάτων*.

3. ἐπελελοίπει: note tense, *not a drop was left*. — **Μῶμος ἠξίου**: cf. *Nigr.* 32 *ἐκεῖνος* (sc. *ὁ Μῶμος*) *ἐμέμφετο τοῦ ταύρου τὸν δημιουργὸν θεὸν οὐ προθέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ κέρατα*. In *Hermot.* 20 Momus also criticizes Hephaestus, as architect, for not making windows in the human breast to facilitate observation as to *ἃ βούλεται καὶ ἐπινοεῖ καὶ εἰ ψεύδεται ἢ ἀληθεύει*. — **Γαλατείας**: for the sake of the pun on "milk-white." In *D. Mar.* 1, 3 Doris thus taunts Galatea: *ἐπικύψασα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἰδὲ σεαυτὴν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χρόαν λευκὴν ἀκριβῶς*. — **Τυρώ**: there is a pun on *τυρός*: see *D. Mar.* 13 for her rival lovers Poseidon and the river-god Enipeus. In *D. Mort.* 18 Tyro is included among the canonized belles and beaux.

4 τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμήν. μείναντες δὲ ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πέντε τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐξωρμήσαμεν, αὔρας μέν τινος παραπεμπούσης, λειοκύμονος δὲ οὔσης τῆς θαλάττης· τῇ ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πλέοντες οὐκέτι διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐν ἁλμυρῷ καὶ κυανῷ ὕδατι, καθορῶμεν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πελάγους διαθέοντας, ἅπαντα ἡμῖν προσεοικότας καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη, πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν μόνων· ταῦτα γὰρ φέλλινα εἶχον· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ οἶμαι καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο Φελλόποδες. ἐθαυμάζομεν οὖν ἰδόντες οὐ βαπτιζομένους ἀλλ' ὑπερέχοντας τῶν κυμάτων καὶ ἀδεῶς ὁδοιποροῦντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ προσῄεσαν καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικῇ φωνῇ ἔλεγόν τε εἰς Φελλὼ τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα ἐπείγεσθαι· μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος συνωδοιπόρουν ἡμῖν παραθέοντες, εἶτα ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐβάδιζον εὔπλοιαν ἡμῖν ἐπευξάμενοι. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πολλαὶ νῆσοι ἐφαίνοντο, πλησίον μὲν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἡ Φελλώ, εἰς ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ἔσπευδον, πόλις ἐπὶ μεγάλου καὶ στρογγύλου φελλοῦ κατοικουμένη· πόρρωθεν δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε μέγισται καὶ ὑψηλόταται, καὶ πῦρ πολὺ
5 ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεκαίετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρῷραν μία πλατεῖα καὶ ταπεινή, σταδίους ἐπέχουσα οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων. ἤδη δὲ πλησίον τε ἦμεν καὶ θαυμαστή τις αὔρα περιέπνευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἡδεῖα καὶ εὐώδης, οἵαν φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ἡρόδοτος ἀπόζειν τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας. οἷον γὰρ ἀπὸ ῥόδων καὶ ναρκίσσων καὶ ὑακίνθων καὶ κρίνων καὶ ἴων, ἔτι δὲ μυρρίνης καὶ δάφνης καὶ ἀμπελάνθης, τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸ

4. **Φελλόποδες**: *cork-trotters.* Cf. Irish "bog-trotters." Φελλεύς, *Cork-oak Ridge*, was a name in Italy and may help float the pun, but the current meaning was 'a stony tract.' — **εἰς Φελλὼ τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα**: *to the old country, to Cork.* — **ἐβάδιζον . . . ἐπευξάμενοι**: *off they walked, praying Heaven to vouchsafe us a good voyage.* ἐπεύχομαι suggests their distrust of other methods of seafaring. — **στρογγύλου**: *drum-shaped.*

5. **κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν**: *dead ahead*; cf. Thuc. 2, 97 κατὰ πρύμναν . . . τὸ πνεῦμα, *with the wind astern.* — **φησὶν**: cf. Hdt. 3, 113 ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς

ἡδὺ προσέβαλλεν. ἡσθέντες δὲ τῇ ὀσμῇ καὶ χρηστὰ ἐκ μακρῶν πόνων ἐλπίσαντες κατ' ὀλίγον ἤδη πλησίον τῆς νήσου ἐγιγνόμεθα. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ καθεωρῶμεν λιμένας τε πολλοὺς περὶ πᾶσαν ἀκλύστους καὶ μεγάλους, ποταμούς τε διαυγεῖς ἐξιόντας ἠρέμα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ἔτι δὲ λειμῶνας καὶ ὕλας καὶ ὄρνεα μουσικά, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ᾐόνων ᾄδοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων· ἀήρ τε κοῦφος καὶ εὔπνους περιεκέχυτο τὴν χώραν· καὶ αὖραι δέ τινες ἡδεῖαι διαπνέουσαι ἠρέμα τὴν ὕλην διεσάλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων κινουμένων τερπνὰ καὶ συνεχῆ μέλη ἀπεσυρίζετο ἐοικότα τοῖς ἐπ' ἐρημίας αὐλήμασι τῶν πλαγίων αὐλῶν. καὶ μὴν καὶ βοὴ σύμμικτος ἠκούετο ἄθρους, οὐ θορυβώδης, ἀλλ' οἵα γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν συμποσίῳ, τῶν μὲν αὐλούντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπᾳδόντων, ἐνίων δὲ κροτούντων πρὸς αὐλὸν ἢ κιθάραν.

6 τούτοις ἅπασι κηλούμενοι κατήχθημεν, ὁρμίσαντες δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἀπεβαίνομεν τὸν Σκίνθαρον ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δύο τῶν

'Αραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ and 3, 23 ὄζειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἴων.—**τῆς νήσου**: to the Greeks, loving the Aegean and the "glittering Cyclades," islands were fit for the birth of gods and the joy of men. The allusions to the Islands of the Blest are various. The Elysium of the gods on Olympus blends (cf. *Od.* 6, 41 ff., and 4, 563 ff.), with the Elysium for mortals. Ps.-Dem., 60, 34, places the dead heroes, as πάρεδροι of the gods, ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. Hesiod, *W. & D.* 169–173, mentions the Islands by name and gives a typical, though meagre, description. In Oceanus the Heroes dwell afar, heart-free of trouble in the Islands of the Blest, and three times a year the earth yields her increase. Plato makes casual allusion in *Symp.* 179 E; *Rep.* 6, 519 E and 540 B; more particularly in *Gorg.* 524 A. But the locus classicus is Pindar *Ol.* 2, 109 ff. . . . ἔνθα μακάρων νᾶσος (= νήσους) ὠκεανίδες αὖραι περιπνέοισιν. Here there is the unlaborious life, with wreaths of flowers unfading, plucked on water and on land, while Ocean's breezes fail not, and crowning all is the company of the great and noble dead (cf. Plato *Apol.* 40 E). Pindar's Fragm. (10, 1 Boeckh) tr. by Symonds has also the sensuous beauty without the noble climax. Cf. also Horace *Epod.* 16, 41 ff. See p. 54.—**ἐπ' ἐρημίας**: in deserto loco; i.e. hung up by shepherds as votive offerings. Jerram cites Virg. *Ecl.* 7, 24:

Hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu.

—**πλαγίων**: see Howard, *H.S.C.P.* IV, 14.

ἑταίρων ἀπολιπόντες. προϊόντες δὲ διὰ λειμῶνος εὐανθοῦς
ἐντυγχάνομεν τοῖς φρουροῖς καὶ περιπόλοις, οἳ δὲ δήσαντες
ἡμᾶς ῥοδίνοις στεφάνοις — οὗτος γὰρ μέγιστος παρ' αὐτοῖς
δεσμός ἐστιν — ἀνῆγον ὡς τὸν ἄρχοντα, παρ' ὧν δὴ καθ'
ὁδὸν ἠκούσαμεν ὡς ἡ μὲν νῆσος εἴη τῶν Μακάρων προσα-
γορευομένων, ἀρχὸς δὲ ὁ Κρὴς Ῥαδάμανθυς. καὶ δὴ ἀνα-
χθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν τάξει τῶν δικαζομένων ἔστημεν τέταρτοι.
7 ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πρώτη δίκη περὶ Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμῶνος, εἴτε
χρὴ αὐτὸν συνεῖναι τοῖς ἥρωσιν εἴτε καὶ μή· κατηγορεῖτο
δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μεμήνοι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτάνοι. τέλος δὲ πολ-
λῶν ῥηθέντων ἔγνω ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς, νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν πιόμενον
τοῦ ἑλλεβόρου παραδοθῆναι Ἱπποκράτει τῷ Κῴῳ ἰατρῷ,
8 ὕστερον δὲ σωφρονήσαντα μετέχειν τοῦ συμποσίου. δευ-
τέρα δὲ ἦν κρίσις ἐρωτική, Θησέως καὶ Μενελάου περὶ τῆς
Ἑλένης διαγωνιζομένων, ποτέρῳ χρὴ αὐτὴν συνοικεῖν. καὶ
ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἐδίκασε Μενελάῳ συνεῖναι αὐτὴν ἅτε καὶ
τοσαῦτα πονήσαντι καὶ κινδυνεύσαντι τοῦ γάμου ἕνεκα·
καὶ γὰρ αὖ τῷ Θησεῖ καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι γυναῖκας τήν τε Ἀμα-
9 ζόνα καὶ τὰς τοῦ Μίνωος θυγατέρας. τρίτη δ' ἐδικάσθη
περὶ προεδρίας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε τῷ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀννίβᾳ τῷ
Καρχηδονίῳ, καὶ ἔδοξε προέχειν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ θρόνος
10 αὐτῷ ἐτέθη παρὰ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην τὸν πρότερον. τέταρ-
τοι δὲ ἡμεῖς προσήχθημεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤρετο τί παθόντες

6. **λειμῶνος εὐανθοῦς**: so in Ar. *Ran.* 373 the Mystae are to advance εἰς τοὺς εὐανθεῖς κόλπους λειμώνων. — **τοῖς φρουροῖς καὶ περιπόλοις**: *the watch and patrol.* Note the article. — **παρ' ὧν**: note the relative instead of another demonstrative, although the clause is logically co-ordinate with the preceding. Cf. Acts 24, 6–8. — **τῶν δικαζομένων . . . τέταρτοι**: *fourth on the court docket.*

7. **μεμήνοι**: note tense and the shift to aorist. — **ἀποκτάνοι**: 2d aor. is poetic. — **ὕστερον**: see § 23.

8. **τήν τε Ἀμαζόνα**: Antiope or Hippolyte. — **τὰς . . . θυγατέρας**: i.e. the ill-used Ariadne and her sister, the faithless Phaedra.

9. **Ἀλεξάνδρῳ . . . Ἀννίβᾳ**: in *D. Mort.* 12 Lucian hits Alexander hard, but gives him a first place with Scipio a

ἔτι ζῶντες ἱεροῦ χωρίου ἐπιβαίημεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντα ἑξῆς διηγησάμεθα. οὗτος δὲ μεταστησάμενος ἡμᾶς πολὺν χρόνον ἐσκέπτετο καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις ἐκοινοῦτο περὶ ἡμῶν. συνήδρευον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἀπεφήνατο τῆς μὲν φιλοπραγμοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνωμεν, δοῦναι τὰς εὐθύνας, τὸ δὲ νῦν ῥητὸν χρόνον μείναντας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ συνδιαιτηθέντας τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ τὴν προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιδημίας μὴ πλέον μηνῶν ἑπτά.
11 *τοὐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν αὐτομάτων τῶν στεφάνων περιρρυέντων ἐλελύμεθα καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠγόμεθα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν Μακάρων συμπόσιον. αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα χρυσῆ, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος περίκειται σμαράγδινον· πύλαι δέ εἰσιν ἑπτά, πᾶσαι μονόξυλοι κινναμώμινοι· τὸ μέντοι ἔδαφος τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους γῆ ἐλεφαντίνη· ναοὶ δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου λίθου ᾠκοδομημένοι, καὶ βωμοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέγιστοι μονόλιθοι ἀμεθύστινοι, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ποιοῦσι τὰς ἑκατόμβας. περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥεῖ ποταμὸς μύρου τοῦ καλλίστου τὸ πλάτος πήχεων ἑκατὸν βασιλικῶν, βάθος δὲ πεντήκοντα, ὥστε νεῖν εὐμαρῶς. λουτρὰ δέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς οἶκοι μεγάλοι ὑάλινοι, τῷ κινναμώμῳ ἐγκαιόμενοι· ἀντὶ μέντοι ὕδατος ἐν*
12 *ταῖς πυέλοις δρόσος θερμή ἐστιν. ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρῶνται ἀραχνίοις λεπτοῖς, πορφυροῖς. αὐτοὶ δὲ σώματα μὲν οὐκ*

close second to please Lucian's Roman constituency, and Hannibal third.

10. ἀπεφήνατο: sc. *γνώμην*. — **τοῖς ἥρωσιν**: *the Heroes* (technical term like "the Saints and Martyrs"). With these the guests are least *déclassés*.

11. ἡ πόλις: see p. 55. — **μονόξυλοι κινναμώμινοι**: *single planks sawn out of the cinnamon tree.* This is an improvement on the rolls of cinnamon bark brought (Hdt. 3, 111) by the birds in their beaks from quarters unknown. — **μονόλιθοι**: cf. the *οἴκημα μουνόλιθον* in Hdt. 2, 175. Note in connexion with this and *μονόξυλοι* above that the English translation only, not the Greek, suggests a reminiscence of Rev. 21, 21 *ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν πυλώνων ἦν ἐξ ἑνὸς μαργαρίτου.* See p. 55, note 4. — **οἶκοι**: *apartments.*

ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναφεῖς καὶ ἄσαρκοί εἰσι, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ ἰδέαν μόνην ἐμφαίνουσι, καὶ ἀσώματοι ὄντες ὅμως συνεστᾶσι καὶ κινοῦνται καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ φωνὴν ἀφιᾶσι, καὶ ὅλως ἔοικε γυμνή τις ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν περιπολεῖν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητα περικειμένη· εἰ γοῦν μὴ ἅψαιτό τις, οὐκ ἂν ἐλέγξειε μὴ εἶναι σῶμα τὸ ὁρώμενον· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ σκιαὶ ὀρθαί, οὐ μέλαιναι. γηράσκει δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἧς ἂν ἡλικίας ἔλθῃ παραμένει. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ νὺξ παρ' αὐτοῖς γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα πάνυ λαμπρά· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ λυκαυγὲς ἤδη πρὸς ἕω μηδέπω ἀνατείλαντος ἡλίου, τοιοῦτο φῶς ἐπέχει τὴν γῆν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὥραν μίαν ἴσασι τοῦ ἔτους· ἀεὶ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔαρ ἐστὶ καὶ εἷς ἄνεμος παρ' αὐτοῖς
13 πνεῖ ὁ ζέφυρος. ἡ δὲ χώρα πᾶσι μὲν ἄνθεσι, πᾶσι δὲ φυτοῖς ἡμέροις τε καὶ σκιεροῖς τέθηλεν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄμπελοι

12. ἀναφεῖς: *intangible*, see App. — **ἄσαρκοι**: *have no flesh and blood.* In the Atharvaveda 4, 34, 2: "Boneless, pure, cleansed by the wind, shining, to a shining realm they go." — **μορφὴν δὲ καὶ ἰδέαν**: *contour and form.* For the connexion between μορφή and κίνησις in the jargon of the schools, see *Vit. Auct.* 4. — **συνεστᾶσι . . . ἀφιᾶσι**: *have consistence and powers of locomotion, of thought, and of articulate speech.* Cf. Plato *Soph.* 248–250. — **ἅψαιτο**: *grasp at.* Not inconsistent with ἀναφεῖς. — **μὴ εἶναι**: see GMT. 685. — **ὥσπερ . . . μέλαιναι**: *like shadows,* (but) *bolt upright* and *not black* (like mere silhouettes). Sbdt. reads ὡραῖαι for ὀρθαί. But shadows have their vagaries; in Mark Twain's *Following the Equator* they are frozen to the deck, i.e. οὐκ ὀρθαί! — **γηράσκει . . . παραμένει**: cf. *Od.* 11, 38–43. In *Icar.* 28 Lucian makes capital of this idea: ἀνελογιζόμην . . . πῶς ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Ἀπόλλων οὐ φύει πώγωνα. — **οὐδὲ νύξ**: a hit at the description of Thule in Antonius Diogenes, see p. 54; cf. *Icar.* 28, and possibly also Pindar *Ol.* 2, 109–110; no reference to Rev. 21, 26 or Zech. 14, 7 need be assumed. — **λυκαυγές**: cf. *Gall.* 33. — **ἀεὶ . . . ἔαρ**: for whole description cf. Pseudo-Plato *Axiochus* 13 οὔτε γὰρ χεῖμα σφοδρὸν οὔτε θάλπος ἐγγίγνεται. — **ζέφυρος**: due W. or N.W. wind, and in Homer thought of for the Troad as blowing raw and stormy from the snows of Thrace; but in the Elysian fields (*Od.* 4, 567–568) and in Alcinous's garden in the west (see Perrin on *Od.* 7, 119) it blows, as in Italy, grata vice veris et Favoni (Horace *Carm.* 1, 4, 1, and 4, 7, 9). In Athens, too, Lucian would have seen on the Tower of the Winds Zephyrus floating gently and showering flowers.

δωδεκαφόροι εἰσὶ καὶ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον καρποφοροῦσι· τὰς δὲ ῥοιὰς καὶ τὰς μηλέας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὀπώραν ἔλεγον μὲν εἶναι τρισκαιδεκαφόρον· ἑνὸς γὰρ μηνὸς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Μινῴου δὶς καρποφορεῖ. ἀντὶ δὲ πυροῦ οἱ στάχυες ἄρτον ἕτοιμον ἐπ' ἄκρων φύουσιν ὥσπερ μύκητας. πηγαὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕδατος μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιαι, μέλιτος δὲ ἄλλαι τοσαῦται, μύρου δὲ πεντακόσιαι, μικρότεραι μέντοι αὗται· καὶ ποταμοὶ γάλακτος ἑπτὰ καὶ
14 οἴνου ὀκτώ. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πεποίηται ἐν τῷ Ἠλυσίῳ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ· λειμὼν δέ ἐστι κάλλιστος καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὕλη παντοία, πυκνή, ἐπισκιάζουσα τοὺς κατακειμένους· καὶ στρωμνὴ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ὑποβέβληται. διακονοῦνται δὲ καὶ διαφέρουσιν ἕκαστα οἱ ἄνεμοι πλήν γε τοῦ οἰνοχοεῖν· τούτου γὰρ οὐ δέονται, περὶ δὲ τὸ συμπόσιον ὑάλινά ἐστι μεγάλα δένδρα τῆς διαυγεστάτης ὑάλου καὶ καρπός ἐστι τῶν δένδρων τούτων ποτήρια παντοῖα καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ τὰ μεγέθη. ἐπειδὰν οὖν παρίῃ τις ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον, τρυγήσας ἓν ἢ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐκπωμάτων παρατίθεται, τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα οἴνου πλήρη γίγνεται. οὕτω μὲν πίνουσιν. ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν στεφάνων αἱ ἀηδόνες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μουσικὰ ὄρνεα ἐκ τῶν πλησίον λειμώνων τοῖς στόμασιν ἀνθολογοῦντα κατανίφει αὐτοὺς μετ' ᾠδῆς ὑπερπετόμενα. καὶ μὴν καὶ μυρίζονται ὧδε· νεφέλαι πυκναὶ ἀνασπάσασαι

13. **δωδεκαφόροι**: act. compound vs. pass. *ὀκτώφορος borne of eight.* Note that the alleged parallel in Rev. 22, 2 (i.e. *ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα*) coincides verbally only in *κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον*.— **ἄρτον ἕτοιμον**: still better than the ready-made crops — *ἄσπαρτα* and *ἀνήροτα* — in *Od.* 9, 109. Hans Sachs improves on this again, cf. p. 56.— **πηγαί**: Lucian makes the most of his calendar: we have three hundred and sixty-five streams of water and monthly crops of the vines, while the Jewish and Roman weeks (nundinae) respectively are reflected in the seven rivers of milk and the eight of wine. This conception of heaven is as old as the Vedas, see p. 56.

14. **τρυγήσας**: note the nonchalant technicality of the expression. — **κατανίφει**: transitive. Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 138 (sc. *ὁ θεὸς*) *κατένειψε χιόνι τὴν Θρᾴκην.*

μύρον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐπιστᾶσαι ὑπὲρ
τὸ συμπόσιον ἠρέμα τῶν ἀνέμων ὑποθλιβόντων ὕουσι λεπτὸν
15 ὥσπερ δρόσον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ μουσικῇ τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς
σχολάζουσιν· ᾄδεται δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἔπη μάλι-
στα· καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ συνευωχεῖται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ
τὸν Ὀδυσσέα κατακείμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων
εἰσὶ καὶ παρθένων· ἐξάρχουσι δὲ καὶ συνᾴδουσιν Εὔνομός
τε ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Ἀνακρέων καὶ Στησί-
χορος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐθεασάμην, ἤδη τῆς
Ἑλένης αὐτῷ διηλλαγμένης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οὗτοι παύσωνται
ᾄδοντες, δεύτερος χορὸς παρέρχεται ἐκ κύκνων καὶ χελιδό-
νων καὶ ἀηδόνων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ᾄσωσι, τότε ἤδη
16 πᾶσα ἡ ὕλη ἐπαυλεῖ τῶν ἀνέμων καταρχόντων. μέγιστον
δὲ δὴ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην ἐκεῖνο ἔχουσι· πηγαί εἰσι δύο παρὰ
τὸ συμπόσιον, ἡ μὲν γέλωτος, ἡ δὲ ἡδονῆς· ἐκ τούτων ἑκα-
τέρας πάντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς εὐωχίας πίνουσι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
ἡδόμενοι καὶ γελῶντες διάγουσι.

17 Βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων οὕστινας παρ᾽
αὐτοῖς ἐθεασάμην· πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ
Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας πλήν γε τοῦ Λοκροῦ Αἴαντος· ἐκεῖνον
δὲ μόνον ἔφασκον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρῳ κολάζεσθαι.

—**τῶν πηγῶν**: *the* (above-mentioned five hundred) *fountains.*

15. **ἐπὶ δὲ . . . σχολάζουσιν**: cf. Pindar *Fragm.* 106 (Bergk).—**Εὔνομος**: the musician upon whose cithara a cicada sprang and supplied the deficiency caused by a broken string. Strabo, 6, p. 260, states that at Locri in Italy his statue was shown, *τέττιγα ἐπὶ τὴν κιθάραν καθήμενον ἔχων.*—**Ἀρίων**: see *D. Mar.* 8 and Hdt. 1, 24.—**διηλλαγμένης**: i.e. thanks to his palinode, cf. Plato *Phaedr.* 243 A quoting *Fragm.* 32:

οὐκ ἔστ᾽ ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος,
οὐδ᾽ ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις, οὐδ᾽ ἵκεο
Πέργαμα Τροίας.

—**ἐπαυλεῖ** *κτλ.*: *echoes as with the strains of a flute, the winds leading off.*

17. **τῶν ἐπισήμων**: *the notables.*—**τοὺς ἡμιθέους**: cf. Plato *Apol.* 28 c *τῶν ἡμιθέων ὅσοι ἐν Τροίᾳ τετελευτήκασιν* and Hes. *W. & D.* 158 *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι.*—**ἐκεῖνον μόνον**: as having violated the rights of sanctuary. He was one of the "incurables" (*ἀνιάτως ἔχειν*), cf. Plato

βαρβάρων δὲ Κύρους τε ἀμφοτέρους καὶ τὸν Σκύθην Ἀνάχαρσιν καὶ τὸν Θρᾷκα Ζάμολξιν καὶ Νομᾶν τὸν Ἰταλιώτην, καὶ μὴν καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Τέλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἄνευ Περιάνδρου. εἶδον δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Σωφρονίσκου ἀδολεσχοῦντα μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Παλαμήδους· περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἦσαν Ὑάκινθός τε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Νάρκισσος καὶ Ὕλας καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καὶ καλοί. καί μοι ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν τοῦ Ὑακίνθου· τὰ πολλὰ γοῦν ἐκεῖνον διήλεγχεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ ἠπειληκέναι πολλάκις ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἢν φλυαρῇ καὶ μὴ ἐθέλῃ ἀφεὶς τὴν εἰρωνείαν εὐωχεῖσθαι. Πλάτων δὲ μόνος οὐ παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐλέγετο αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασθείσῃ ὑφ' αὑτοῦ πόλει οἰκεῖν χρώμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις οἷς συνέγραψεν.

18 οἱ μέντοι ἀμφ' Ἀρίστιππόν τε καὶ Ἐπίκουρον τὰ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐφέροντο ἡδεῖς τε ὄντες καὶ κεχαρισμένοι καὶ συμποτικώτατοι. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Αἴσωπος ὁ Φρύξ· τούτῳ δὲ ὅσα καὶ γελωτοποιῷ χρῶνται. Διογένης μέν γε ὁ Σινωπεὺς

Phaedo 113 E. — **Ἀνάχαρσιν**: in Lucian's dialogue Anacharsis and Solon represent barbarian and Greek training respectively. — **Ζάμολξιν**: the Thracians were tricked into deifying him (Hdt. 4, 95). — **Νομᾶν**: i.e. Numa Pompilius; see App. — **Φωκίωνα**: though an anti-jingo, Phocion is admitted to heaven! — **Τέλλον**: see *Char.* 10. — **ἄνευ Περιάνδρου**: a mock concession to conventional opinion. Periander is often left out of the canonical list of the Seven Sages. — **Παλαμήδους**: cf. Plato *Apol.* 41 B. — **Ὑάκινθος** κτλ.: cf. *D. Mort.* 18, 1. — **τὴν εἰρωνείαν**: cf. Plato *Rep.* 337 A Ὦ Ἡράκλεις, αὕτη ἐκείνη ἡ εἰωθυῖα εἰρωνεία Σωκράτους. — **αὐτός**: *alone* (see L. & S. s.v., I, 3). — **ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασθείσῃ** κτλ.: i.e. Plato's Republic; cf. the noble passage (πόλει) τῇ ἐν λόγοις κειμένῃ· ἐπεὶ γῆς γε οὐδαμοῦ οἶμαι αὐτὴν εἶναι 591 A B. In *Philops.* 24 the liar claims that through the pro tempore crevasse he saw Socrates in Elysium, but "Plato he failed to distinguish."

18. **οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀρίστιππον**: originally *the school of Aristippus*, then *Aristippus and his school*, then simply *Aristippus*. So both ἀμφί and περί often in Lucian; cf. § 23, and *Symp.* 29; 36; 37; 42; and especially 43. — **Ἀρίστιππον**: see *Vit. Auct.* 12; for Epicurus, *Vit. Auct.* 19. — **γελωτοποιῷ**: a fixture in the convivial programme; cf. Xen. *Symp.*

τοσοῦτον μετέβαλε τοῦ τρόπου, ὥστε γῆμαι μὲν Λαΐδα τὴν ἑταίραν, ὀρχεῖσθαι δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ μέθης ἀνιστάμενον καὶ παροινεῖν. τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν οὐδεὶς παρῆν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐλέγοντο ἀναβαίνειν τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄρθιον λόφον. ἠκούομεν δὲ καὶ περὶ Χρυσίππου ὅτι οὐ πρότερον αὐτῷ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς νήσου θέμις πρὶν τὸ τέταρτον ἑαυτὸν ἐλλεβορίσῃ. τοὺς δὲ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ἔλεγον ἐθέλειν μὲν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπέχειν δὲ ἔτι καὶ διασκέπτεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτό πω καταλαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ νῆσός τις τοιαύτη ἐστίν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος, οἶμαι, κρίσιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὸ κριτήριον αὐτοὶ ἀνῃρηκότες. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἔφασκον ὁρμηθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, ὑπὸ νωθείας δὲ ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴ καταλαμβάνοντας καὶ ἀναστρέφειν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ.

19 *οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν παρόντων. τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Θησέα. περὶ δὲ συνουσίας καὶ ἀφροδισίων οὕτω φρονοῦσι· μίσγονται μὲν ἀναφανδὸν πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄρρεσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ· μόνος δὲ Σωκράτης*

1, 11 ; also Lucian *Symp.* 18, where the jester is brought in between courses and commanded *εἰπεῖν τι ἢ πρᾶξαι γελοῖον, ὡς ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ συμπόται διαχυθεῖεν.* — **Διογένης**: see *Vit. Auct.* 7. — **τοσοῦτον μετέβαλε . . . ὥστε γῆμαι**: cf. Athen. 588 C–E. Lucian, in his post-Menippean pieces, is never tired of holding up to ridicule the preaching and practice of the Cynics. Cf. *Symp.* 12 ff.; *Peregr.* passim ; *Pisc.* 45, 48, etc. — **τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄρθιον λόφον**: cf. the "Hill Difficulty" in *Hermot.* 2 *ἡ δ' Ἀρετὴ πάνυ πόρρω κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον οἰκεῖ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν μακρός τε καὶ ὄρθιος καὶ τρηχύς.* Hermotimus, already forty when he began and a student now these twenty years (not the stripling of Pater's chapter xxiv in *Marius the Epicurean*) has only reached the foothills. "It will require," says Lucian, "'other lives' for 'other heights.'" See Simon. 58. — **Χρυσίππου**: see *Vit. Auct.* 21 ff. — **τὸ τέταρτον ἑαυτὸν ἐλλεβορίσῃ**: *Vit. Auct.* 23 (*τρίς*). — **Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς . . . ἐπέχειν**: for the confusion between the Academics proper and the Sceptics, see note on *Vit. Auct.* 27. — **μηδέ**: for *οὐδέ*. Cf. Introd. 39 (*a*).

19. Σωκράτης: the repetition of this stock story (see Plato's *Symposium* 219 B) means just as little serious malice as the classification of Herodotus and Ctesias with other liars in § 31. —

διώμνυτο ἦ μὴν καθαρῶς πλησιάζειν τοῖς νέοις· καὶ μέντοι πάντες αὐτοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν κατεγίνωσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν ὁ μὲν Ὑάκινθος ἢ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὡμολόγουν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἠρνεῖτο. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκές εἰσι πᾶσι κοιναὶ καὶ οὐδεὶς φθονεῖ τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶ περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Πλατωνικώτατοι· καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγοντες.

20 Οὔπω δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέραι διεληλύθεσαν, καὶ προσελθὼν ἐγὼ Ὁμήρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, σχολῆς οὔσης ἀμφοῖν, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπυνθανόμην καὶ ὅθεν εἴη, λέγων τοῦτο μάλιστα παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εἰσέτι νῦν ζητεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκεν ὡς οἱ μὲν Χῖον, οἱ δὲ Σμυρναῖον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν. εἶναι μέντοι γε ἔλεγε Βαβυλώνιος, καὶ παρά γε τοῖς πολίταις οὐχ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνης καλεῖσθαι· ὕστερον δὲ ὁμηρεύσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων στίχων ἐπηρώτων, εἰ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου εἰσὶν ἐγγεγραμμένοι. καὶ ὃς ἔφασκε πάντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι. κατεγίνωσκον οὖν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον γραμματικῶν πολλὴν τὴν ψυχρολογίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἱκανῶς ἀπεκρίνατο, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἠρώτων τί δή ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς Μήνιδος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο·

Πλατωνικώτατοι: the allusion is to *Rep.* 5, e.g. 468 B and C.

20. **Οὔπω . . . διεληλύθεσαν, καὶ . . .**: parataxis. Cf. Introd. 28 and *Somn.* 1 and 3. — **τά τε ἄλλα . . . εἰσέτι νῦν**: the "Homeric Question" was already an old story by Lucian's time. — **οἱ μὲν Χῖον** *κτλ.*: Lucian apparently follows the epigram of Antipater of Sidon (see Jebb's *Homer*, p. 87):

οἱ μέν σευ Κολοφῶνα τιθηνήτειραν, Ὅμηρε,
οἱ δὲ καλὰν Σμύρναν, οἱ δ' ἐνέπουσι Χίον.

He mentions more of the conventional names, *Encom. Demosth.* 9. — **Βαβυλώνιος**: in *Gall.* 17 we learn from the cock (Pythagoras) that Homer was a Bactrian camel at the time of the Trojan war. — **ἀθετουμένων**: *rejected* as spurious: see Jebb's *Homer*, p. 94, note 2. — **ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον**: for the Alexandrine recensions (*διορθώσεις*) by Zenodotus (first librarian at Alexandria, 280 B.C.) and Aristarchus (flor. ca. 160 B.C., cf. Lucian *Jud. Vocal.* 1 and 8) see Jebb's

καὶ ὃς εἶπεν οὕτως ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύσαντι. καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο ἐπεθύμουν εἰδέναι, εἰ προτέραν ἔγραψε τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὡς οἱ πολλοί φασιν· ὁ δὲ ἠρνεῖτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τυφλὸς ἦν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν, αὐτίκα ἠπιστάμην· ἑώρα γάρ, ὥστε οὐδὲ πυνθάνεσθαι ἐδεόμην. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τοῦτο ἐποίουν, εἴ ποτε αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἄγοντα ἑώρων· προσιὼν γάρ τι ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὃς προθύμως πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, καὶ μάλιστα μετὰ τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ ἐκράτησεν· ἦν γάρ τις γραφὴ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπενηνεγμένη ὕβρεως ὑπὸ Θερσίτου ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἔσκωψε, καὶ ἐνίκησεν Ὅμηρος Ὀδυσσέως συναγο-

21 ρεύοντος. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἀφίκετο καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ἑπτάκις ἀλλαγεὶς καὶ ἐν τοσούτοις ζῴοις βιοτεύσας καὶ ἐκτελέσας τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς περιόδους. ἦν δὲ χρυσοῦς ὅλον τὸ δεξιὸν ἡμίτομον. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν συμπολιτεύσασθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐνεδοιάζετο δὲ ἔτι πότερον Πυθαγόραν ἢ Εὔφορβον χρὴ αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν. ὁ μέντοι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἦλθε μὲν καὶ οὗτος, περίεφθος καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ὠπτημένος· οὐ μὴν παρεδέχθη καίτοι πολλὰ ἱκετεύων.

Homer, 92, 93. — **μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύσαντι**: cf. Introd. 39 (*e*). — **προτέραν**: Lucian ignores the Chorizontes (Jebb p. 103). — **ἑώρα**: *he was using his eyes*; cf. ὁρᾷ A 25. For the emendation to ἑώρων see App. — **καὶ ὅς**: L. & S. s.v. Cf. §20, line 256. — **δίκην . . . γραφὴ ὕβρεως**: cf. Dem. 524, 22 γραφὴν ὕβρεως (*criminal prosecution for assault*) καὶ δίκην κακηγορίας (*action for defamation*) ἰδίαν φεύξεται. — **Ὀδυσσέως**: the *shifty* (πολύτροπος) Odysseus was cut out for a criminal lawyer.

21. κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους: i.e. (roughly speaking) seven hundred years from Pythagoras to Lucian. — **ἑπτάκις . . . περιόδους**: calculated on the basis of Plato *Rep.* 615 A τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι κατὰ ἑκατονταετηρίδα ἑκάστην, ὡς βίου ὄντος τοσούτου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου. In *Gall.* 17 ff. the chronology of his transmigrations is not reckoned so carefully: after six human incarnations he becomes a horse, a jackdaw, a frog, then ἄλλα μυρία, and finally time and again a cock. — **ὅλον τὸ δεξιὸν ἡμίτομον**: his golden thigh (cf. *Vit. Auct.* 6) and accrued interest. — **ἐνεδοιάζετο**: in *Gall.* 20 he prefers the "rooster" avatar. — **Ἐμπεδοκλῆς . . . ὠπτημένος**: cf. *D. Mort.* 20, 4; *Peregr.* 1; *Pisc.* 2. — **καίτοι**: for καίπερ. Introd. 27.

22 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνέστη ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ Θανατούσια. ἠγωνοθέτει δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Θησεὺς τὸ ἕβδομον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν· τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια τῶν πραχθέντων διηγήσομαι. πάλην μὲν ἐνίκησε Κᾶρος ὁ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους Ὀδυσσέα περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καταγωνισάμενος· πυγμὴ δὲ ἴση ἐγένετο Ἀρείου τε τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς ἐν Κορίνθῳ τέθαπται, καὶ Ἐπειοῦ ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντων. παγκρατίου δὲ οὐ τίθεται ἆθλα παρ' αὐτοῖς. τὸν μέντοι δρόμον οὐκέτι μέμνημαι ὅστις ἐνίκησε. ποιητῶν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐκράτει Ὅμηρος, ἐνίκησε δὲ ὅμως Ἡσίοδος. τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦν ἅπασι στέφανος πλακεὶς ἐκ πτερῶν ταωνείων.

23 Ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος συντετελεσμένου ἠγγέλλοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τῶν ἀσεβῶν κολαζόμενοι ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον· ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν Φάλαρίν τε τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Βούσιριν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Διομήδην τὸν Θρᾷκα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Σκείρωνα καὶ Πιτυοκάμπτην. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς, ἐκτάττει τοὺς ἥρωας ἐπὶ τῆς ᾐόνος· ἡγεῖτο δὲ

22. **τὰ Θανατούσια**: *Mortalia*, cf. Κρόνια *Saturnalia*. — **Κᾶρος**: unknown unless it be the Roman poet in Ovid *Epist. ex Ponto* 4, 16. The juxtaposition of incongruous pairs is apparently the motive. — **Ἡσίοδος**: this was comparatively modern. Plutarch had told of Hesiod winning a prize unfairly from Homer, and the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* was written just before Lucian's time. — **ταωνείων**: for the conventional metaphor cf. Aesop *Fab.* 397 b where the peacock boasts to the crane: ἐγὼ μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδέδυμαι, σὺ δὲ οὐδὲν καλὸν φέρεις ἐν πτεροῖς. The same suggestion seems obvious in Strattis *Maced.* 7 and in Ar. *Ach.* 63 (but see scholiast ad loc.):

ποίου βασιλέως; ἄχθομαι 'γὼ πρέσβεσι
καὶ τοῖς ταῷσι τοῖς τ' ἀλαζονεύμασιν.

23. **ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμά**: cf., Introd. p. xxiv, Boileau's *Les Héros de roman*. — **Φάλαριν**: among Lucian's writings are two προλαλιαί in defence of the tyrant Phalaris. So Isocrates, or. 11, had whitewashed Busiris, the next on this list. See Bentley's famous dissertation on the *Epistles of Phalaris*. — **Σκείρωνα**: the Corinth Railroad now runs along the Skironian Cliffs, see Baedeker's *Greece*, p. 145. —

Θησεύς τε καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Αἴας ὁ Τελαμώνιος ἤδη σωφρονῶν· καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ ἥρωες Ἀχιλλέως τὰ πλεῖστα κατορθώσαντος. ἠρίστευσε δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ταχθεὶς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε ζῶν ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ ἐμάχετο. προσιόντων γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἔφυγε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἄτρεπτος ἦν· ἐφ᾽ οἷς καὶ ὕστερον ἐξῃρέθη αὐτῷ ἀριστεῖον, καλός τε καὶ μέγιστος παράδεισος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἔνθα καὶ συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἑταίρους διελέγετο
24 *Νεκρακαδημίαν τὸν τόπον προσαγορεύσας. συλλαβόντες οὖν τοὺς νενικημένους καὶ δήσαντες αὖθις ἀπέπεμψαν ἔτι μᾶλλον κολασθησομένους. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Ὅμηρος καὶ ἀπιόντι μοι ἔδωκε τὰ βιβλία κομίζειν τοῖς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀνθρώποις· ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερον καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπωλέσαμεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ποιήματος αὕτη,*

νῦν δέ μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, μάχην νεκύων ἡρώων.

τότε δ᾽ οὖν κυάμους ἑψήσαντες, ὥσπερ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐπειδὰν τὸν πόλεμον κατορθώσωσιν, εἱστιῶντο τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ ἑορτὴν μεγάλην ἦγον· μόνος δὲ ταύτης οὐ μετεῖχε Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλ᾽ ἄσιτος πόρρω ἐκαθέζετο μυσαττόμενος τὴν κυαμοφαγίαν.

25 *Ἤδη δὲ μηνῶν ἓξ διεληλυθότων περὶ μεσοῦντα τὸν ἕβδομον νεώτερα συνίστατο πράγματα· ὁ Κινύρας ὁ τοῦ Σκινθάρου παῖς μέγας τε ὢν καὶ καλὸς ἤρα πολὺν χρόνον ἤδη τῆς Ἑλένης, καὶ αὕτη δὲ οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν ἐπιμανῶς ἀγαπῶσα τὸν*

ἤδη σωφρονῶν: see § 7. — **τὰ πλεῖστα κατορθώσαντος**: cf. *Il.* 1, 165–166 *ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυάικος πολέμοιο | χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ᾽*. — **ἠρίστευσε**: cf. Plato *Symp.* 221 A B. Lucian, as usual, outdoes his original. — **Νεκρακαδημίαν**: Socrates (not Plato, see § 17) is head master of this *Deadhead Academy* — tuition free.

24. **καὶ ταύτην**: i.e. as well as those in the *Iliad*. — **ἀπωλέσαμεν**: see § 47. — **νῦν δέ μοι** *κτλ.*: parody on *Od.* 1, 1:

Sing to me, Muse, now sing of the combat of
corpses heroic.

— **μυσαττόμενος**: cf. *Vit. Auct.* 6. — **τὴν κυαμοφαγίαν**: *this bean-baiting.*

25. **νεώτερα πράγματα**: novae res,

νεανίσκον· πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ προὔπινον καὶ μόνοι ἐξανιστάμενοι ἐπλανῶντο περὶ τὴν ὕλην. καὶ δή ποτε ὑπὸ ἔρωτος καὶ ἀμηχανίας ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ Κινύρας ἁρπάσας τὴν Ἑλένην φυγεῖν. ἐδόκει δὲ κἀκείνῃ ταῦτα, οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντας ἔς τινα τῶν ἐπικειμένων νήσων, ἤτοι ἐς τὴν Φελλὼ ἢ ἐς τὴν Τυρόεσσαν. συνωμότας δὲ πάλαι προσειλήφεσαν τρεῖς τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς θρασυτάτους. τῷ μέντοι πατρὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐμήνυσεν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κωλυθησόμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐτέλουν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νὺξ ἐγένετο — ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ παρήμην· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιμώμενος — οἱ δὲ λαθόντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλα-
26 βόντες τὴν Ἑλένην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνήχθησαν. περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἀνεγρόμενος ὁ Μενέλεως ἐπεὶ ἔμαθε τὴν εὐνὴν κενὴν τῆς γυναικός, βοήν τε ἵστη καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραλαβὼν ᾔει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν. ἡμέρας δὲ ὑποφαινούσης ἔλεγον οἱ σκοποὶ καθορᾶν τὴν ναῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν· οὕτω δὴ ἐμβιβάσας ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς πεντήκοντα τῶν ἡρώων εἰς ναῦν μονόξυλον ἀσφοδελίνην παρήγγειλε διώκειν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἐλαύνοντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄρτι ἐς τὸν γαλακτώδη ὠκεανὸν ἐμβαίνοντας πλησίον τῆς Τυροέσσης· παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον διαδρᾶναι· καὶ ἀναδησάμενοι τὴν ναῦν ἁλύσει ῥοδίνῃ κατέπλεον. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἑλένη ἐδάκρυέ τε καὶ ᾐσχύνετο καὶ ἐνεκαλύπτετο, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κινύραν ἀνακρίνας πρότερον

cf. L. & S. — **ἐπικειμένων**: *adjacent*. The *Isle of Cork* in § 5 was described as πόρρωθεν and the *Isle of Cheesea* (§ 3) was more distant. — **παρήμην**: see Introd. 18 (*b*). Cf. Schmid, I, 231.

26. **κενήν**: see Introd. 23 (*b*). — **βοὴν ἵστη**: Menelaus (βοὴν ἀγαθός) had not yet acquired the Hades hoarseness. — **ἀδελφόν**: Agamemnon returns his brother's devotion (*Il.* 2, 409). — **μονόξυλον ἀσφοδελίνην**: *a dug-out* (cf. Xen. *Anab.* 5, 4, 11) *made from a single trunk of asphodel*. The asphodel plants are here good-sized trees; so in the *Isle of Dreams* (§ 33) the poppies are tall trees. — **κατέπλεον**: *sailed*

ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς, εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς συνίσασιν, ὡς οὐδένα εἶπον, ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων δήσας ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὸν τῶν
27 ἀσεβῶν χῶρον μαλάχῃ πρότερον μαστιγωθέντας. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐμπροθέσμους ἐκπέμπειν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν μόνην ἐπιμείναντας. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἐποτνιώμην τε καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἷα ἔμελλον ἀγαθὰ καταλιπὼν αὖθις πλανηθήσεσθαι. αὐτοὶ μέντοι παρεμυθοῦντο λέγοντες οὐ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν ὡς αὐτούς, καί μοι ἤδη θρόνον τε καὶ κλισίαν ἐς τοὐπιὸν ἐπεδείκνυσαν πλησίον τῶν ἀρίστων. ἐγὼ δὲ προσελθὼν τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθυι πολλὰ ἱκέτευον εἰπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ ὑποδεῖξαί μοι τὸν πλοῦν. ὃ δὲ ἔφασκεν ἀφίξεσθαι μὲν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα πολλὰ πρότερον πλανηθέντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ χρόνον οὐκέτι τῆς ἐπανόδου προσθεῖναι ἠθέλησεν· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ δεικνὺς τὰς πλησίον νήσους—ἐφαίνοντο δὲ πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἄλλη δὲ ἕκτη πόρρωθεν—ταύτας μὲν εἶναι ἔφασκε τὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν, τὰς πλησίον. Ἀφ᾽ ὧν, ἔφη, ἤδη τὸ πολὺ πῦρ ὁρᾷς καιόμενον, ἕκτη δὲ ἐκείνη τῶν ὀνείρων ἡ πόλις· μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδέπω σοι φαίνεται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτας παραπλεύσῃς, τότε δὴ ἀφίξῃ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην ἤπειρον τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν κατοικουμένῃ· ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ ποικίλα ἔθνη διελθὼν καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀμίκτοις

home.—**μαλάχῃ**: the mallow was not normally prescribed for external use, but cf. *Fugit.* 33.

27. **ἐμπροθέσμους**: only six and a half of the seven months allowed (see § 25) had elapsed.—**ἐποτνιώμην**: late Greek, but see L. & S.—**αὐτοί**: (they) *personally.* But both here and in § 12 nearly equivalent to a personal pronoun.—**οὐ πολλῶν ἐτῶν**: Lucian was no longer young (Bolderman, *Stud. Lucian.* p. 134).—**θρόνον τε καὶ κλισίαν**: the θρόνος by way of προεδρία at the Olympic Ecclesia and a dining-couch (κλισία) at the celestial Symposium.—**τὰ μέλλοντα**: still in parody of the *Odyssey*, cf. Circe's instructions *Od.* 12, 37 ff.—**ἤπειρον τὴν ἐναντίαν**: called (§ 47) τὴν ἀντιπέραν. Sometimes vaguely described as the Island of Atlantis. For the continent "outside this world (i.e. Europe, Asia, and Libya)," cf. Aelian *Var. Hist.* 3, 18.—**ἀμίκτοις**: *unsociable.* Cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 429 ἄμικτον ἄνδρα.

ἐπιδημήσας χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἥξεις εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἤπειρον. το-
28 σαῦτα εἶπε. καὶ ἀνασπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μαλάχης ῥίζαν
ὤρεξέ μοι, ταύτῃ κελεύσας ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις προσ-
εύχεσθαι· παρῄνεσε δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀφικοίμην ἐς τήνδε τὴν
γῆν, μήτε πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ σκαλεύειν μήτε θέρμους ἐσθίειν μήτε
παιδὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη πλησιάζειν· τούτων γὰρ ἂν
μεμνημένον ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τῆς εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἀφίξεως. τότε
μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν παρεσκευαζόμην, καὶ ἐπεὶ καιρὸς
ἦν, συνειστιώμην αὐτοῖς. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προσελθὼν πρὸς
Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐδεήθην αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαί μοι δίστιχον
ἐπίγραμμα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησε, στήλην βηρύλλου λίθου
ἀναστήσας ἐπέγραψα πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἦν
τοιόνδε·

> Λουκιανὸς τάδε πάντα φίλος μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν
> εἶδέ τε καὶ πάλιν ἦλθεν ἑὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

29 μείνας δὲ κἀκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἀνηγόμην τῶν ἡρώων παραπεμπόντων. ἔνθα μοι καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς προσελθὼν λάθρᾳ τῆς Πηνελόπης δίδωσιν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς Ὠγυγίαν τὴν νῆσον Καλυψοῖ κομίζειν. συνέπεμψε δέ μοι ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς τὸν πορθμέα Ναύπλιον, ἵν' εἰ καταχθείημεν ἐς τὰς νήσους, μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς συλλάβῃ ἅτε κατ' ἄλλην ἐμπορίαν καταπλέοντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν εὐώδη ἀέρα προϊόντες παρεληλύθειμεν, αὐτίκα ἡμᾶς ὀσμή τε δεινὴ διεδέχετο οἷον ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου καὶ πίττης ἅμα καιομένων, καὶ κνῖσα δὲ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀφόρητος ὥσπερ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀπτωμένων, καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ

28. **Λουκιανός** (scan yā) κτλ.:

> Lucian, the friend of the gods that are blessed for ever and ever,
> All this beheld and return'd to his country, the land of his fathers.

29. **Ὠγυγίαν**: this lay next beyond (§ 27) the Islands of the Damned. — **Ναύπλιον**: for his legendary connection with modern Nauplia see Baedeker's *Greece*. — **κνῖσα . . . ὀπτωμένων**: so Zeus (*Fugit.* 1) complains as he recalls the perfume of Peregrinus roasting: *πολλὴν τὴν ἀηδίαν μέμνημαι ἀνασχόμενος τότε ὑπὸ κνίσης πονηρᾶς, οἵαν εἰκὸς ἀποφέρεσθαι ὀπτωμένων ἀνθρωπείων σωμάτων.*

ζοφερὸς καὶ ὁμιχλώδης, καὶ κατέσταζεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δρόσος πιττίνη· ἠκούομεν δὲ καὶ μαστίγων ψόφον καὶ οἰμωγὴν
30 ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν. ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλαις οὐ προσέσχομεν, ᾗ δὲ ἐπέβημεν, τοιάδε ἦν· κύκλῳ μὲν πᾶσα κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπόξυρος, πέτραις καὶ τραχῶσι κατεσκληκυῖα. δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὕδωρ ἐνῆν· ἀνερπύσαντες δὲ ὅμως κατὰ τοὺς κρημνοὺς προῄειμεν διά τινος ἀκανθώδους καὶ σκολόπων μεστῆς ἀτραποῦ, πολλὴν ἀμορφίαν τῆς χώρας ἐχούσης. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν εἱρκτὴν καὶ τὸ Κολαστήριον πρῶτα μὲν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ τόπου ἐθαυμάζομεν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔδαφος αὐτὸ μαχαίραις καὶ σκόλοψι πάντη ἐξηνθήκει, κύκλῳ δὲ ποταμοὶ περιέρρεον, ὁ μὲν βορβόρου, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος αἵματος, ὁ δὲ ἔνδον πυρός, πάνυ μέγας οὗτος καὶ ἀπέρατος, καὶ ἔρρει ὥσπερ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐκυματοῦτο ὥσπερ θάλαττα, καὶ ἰχθῦς δὲ εἶχε πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν δαλοῖς προσεοικότας, τοὺς δὲ μικροὺς ἄνθραξι πεπυρωμένοις, ἐκάλουν δὲ αὐτοὺς λυχνίσκους.
31 εἴσοδος δὲ μία στενὴ διὰ πάντων ἦν, καὶ πυλωρὸς ἐφειστήκει Τίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. παρελθόντες δὲ ὅμως τοῦ Ναυπλίου καθηγουμένου ἑωρῶμεν κολαζομένους πολλοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτας, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ ἐγνωρίζομεν· εἴδομεν

30. **ᾗ δὲ**: sc. *νήσῳ*. — **τραχῶσι**: *stony tracts.* Cf. *Tox.* 49 *μέχρι τοῦ τραχῶνος νέμειν.* — **κατὰ τοὺς κρημνοὺς**: *at the crags.* — **ἀκανθώδους . . . ἀτραποῦ**: cf. Plato *Rep.* 616 A, where the fiery demons card Ardiaeus and the other sinners on the thorn-bushes by the wayside: *εἷλκον παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτὸς ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες.* Cf. the context in the *Republic* l.c., and also the *Phaedo*, for the physical geography of the Greek hell. — **Κολαστήριον**: Lucian gives with much relish the stock description of this House of Correction in *Men.* 14, *μαστίγων τε γὰρ ὁμοῦ ψόφος ἠκούετο καὶ οἰμωγὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ὀπτωμένων καὶ στρέβλαι καὶ κύφωνες καὶ τρόχοι, καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα ἐσπάραττε καὶ ὁ Κέρβερος ἐδάρδαπτεν κτλ.* — **ἐξηνθήκει**: *was in full bloom.* The plpf. (see Chabert p. 188; cf. Schmid, I, 240) is redundant, as the present itself denotes a state. In *Pisc.* 6 the verb is constr. with cogn. acc. — **ὁ μὲν βορβόρου**: cf. Plato *Phaedo* c. 60. — **λυχνίσκους**: *lampkins.*

31. **Τίμων**: see Lucian's dialogue *Timon* for the previous career of this human Cerberus. — **ὅμως**: i.e. even with a gatekeeper like that! — **ἐγνωρίζομεν**:

δὲ καὶ τὸν Κινύραν καπνῷ ὑποτυφόμενον ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων
ἀπηρτημένον. προσετίθεσαν δὲ οἱ περιηγηταὶ καὶ τοὺς
ἑκάστων βίους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ᾽ αἷς κολάζονται· καὶ μεγί-
στας ἁπασῶν τιμωρίας ὑπέμενον οἱ ψευσάμενοί τι παρὰ τὸν
βίον καὶ οἱ μὴ τἀληθῆ συγγεγραφότες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας
ὁ Κνίδιος ἦν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τούτους οὖν
ὁρῶν ἐγὼ χρηστὰς εἶχον εἰς τοὐπιὸν τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐδὲν γὰρ
32 ἐμαυτῷ ψεῦδος εἰπόντι συνηπιστάμην. ταχέως δ᾽ οὖν ἀνα-
στρέψας ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠδυνάμην φέρειν τὴν ὄψιν
— ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ναύπλιον ἀπέπλευσα· καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον
ἐφαίνετο πλησίον ἡ τῶν ὀνείρων νῆσος, ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀσαφὴς
ἰδεῖν· ἔπασχε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τοῖς ὀνείροις τι παραπλήσιον·
ὑπεχώρει γὰρ προσιόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπέφευγε καὶ πορρω-
τέρω ὑπέβαινε. καταλαβόντες δέ ποτε αὐτὴν καὶ ἐσπλεύ-
σαντες ἐς τὸν Ὕπνου Λιμένα προσαγορευόμενον πλησίον
τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων, ᾗ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεκτρυόνος ἱερόν
ἐστι, περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἀπεβαίνομεν, παρελθόντες δὲ ἐς τὴν
πόλιν πολλοὺς ὀνείρους καὶ ποικίλους ἑωρῶμεν. πρῶτον δὲ
βούλομαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ
γέγραπται περὶ αὐτῆς, ὃς δὲ καὶ μόνος ἐπεμνήσθη Ὅμηρος,
33 οὐ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψε. κύκλῳ μὲν περὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν

see details in *Men.* l.c. and cf. the account of the tyrant Ardiaeus recognized by Er (Plato *Rep.* 615 c); so Dante, (*Inferno*, passim), pays off many an old score. — **οἱ περιηγηταί**: for these local ciceroni see *Char.* 22 and 1 (note) and *Philops.* 4. — **τὰς αἰτίας** κτλ.: so the demons, *Rep.* 616 A, announced *ὧν ἕνεκά τε καὶ εἰς ὅ τι ἐμπεσούμενοι ἄγοιντο*. — **οἱ ψευσάμενοι**: in A 2–4 Lucian gives his views on lying historians, citing Odysseus as the very father and teacher of lies.

32. Ὕπνου Λιμένα: *Sleephaven.* — **τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων**: note the particularizing order. Lucian wishes to be perfectly fair, i.e. *not* the gates of horn (*Od.* 19, 562). — **τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεκτρυόνος ἱερόν**: *St. Rooster's.* The cock, as we learn from Lucian's Ἀλεκτρυών (20), was no mean bird. He was the favorite avatar of Pythagoras, and Socrates (*Phaedo* sub fin.), passing to the bright dawn — or the dreamless sleep — of eternity, bids offer a cock to Asklepius. — **ἐπεὶ μηδέ**: for *οὐδέ*. See Introd. 39 (c).

ὕλη ἀνέστηκε, τὰ δένδρα δέ ἐστι μήκωνες ὑψηλαὶ καὶ μανδραγόραι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν πολύ τι πλῆθος νυκτερίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γίνεται ὄρνεον. ποταμὸς δὲ παραρρεῖ πλησίον ὁ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενος Νυκτίπορος, καὶ πηγαὶ δύο παρὰ τὰς πύλας· ὀνόματα καὶ ταύταις, τῇ μὲν Νήγρετος, τῇ δὲ Παννυχία. ὁ περίβολος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑψηλός τε καὶ ποικίλος, ἴριδι τὴν χρόαν ὁμοιότατος. πύλαι μέντοι ἔπεισιν οὐ δύο, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τέτταρες, δύο μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Βλακείας πεδίον ἀποβλέπουσαι, ἡ μὲν σιδηρᾶ, ἡ δὲ ἐκ κεράμου πεποιημένη, καθ' ἃς ἐλέγοντο ἀποδημεῖν αὐτῶν οἵ τε φοβεροὶ καὶ φονικοὶ καὶ ἀπηνεῖς, δύο δὲ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἡ μὲν κερατίνη, καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς παρήλθομεν, ἡ δὲ ἐλεφαντίνη. εἰσιόντι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μέν ἐστι τὸ Νυκτῷον· σέβουσι γὰρ θεῶν ταύτην μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἐκείνῳ δὲ πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος τὸ ἱερὸν πεποίηται. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ὕπνου βασίλεια. οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἄρχει παρ' αὐτοῖς σατράπας δύο καὶ ὑπάρχους πεποιημένος, Ταραξίωνά τε τὸν Ματαιογένους καὶ Πλουτοκλέα τὸν Φαντασίωνος. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ πηγή τίς ἐστιν, ἣν καλοῦσι Καρεῶτιν· καὶ πλησίον ναοὶ δύο, Ἀπάτης καὶ Ἀληθείας· ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἄδυτόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς

33. μήκωνες: (*μήκωνος*) *ὄπιον* is *opium*. For this and *μανδραγόραι* cf. Shakspere, Othello, iii, 3 (cited by Jerram): "Not poppy, nor mandragora . . . shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep." — **ὄρνεον**: the reversible bat — now mouse, now bird — was a time-honored zoölogical illustration. — **Νυκτίπορος**: *Noxford*. For accent cf. *Βόσπορος* (*Oxford*) and *ναυσίπορος*. — **Νήγρετος**: *Never-stir*. — **Παννυχία**: *Make-a-night-of-it*. — **Βλακείας**: *Sloth-shire*. — **ἡ μὲν σιδηρᾶ**: the "golden gates" (*Gall.* 6) are not provided for here. — **καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς**: to reiterate the veracity of his tales. Cf. the Homeric (*Od.* 19, 562 ff.) play upon *κέρας* — *κραίνω* and *ἐλέφας* — *ἐλεφαίρομαι*,

οἱ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
οἵ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βρότων ὅτε κέν τις ἴδηται.

— **Νυκτῷον**: *Nocteum*, vid. supra on § 22. — **Ταραξίωνα**: these thinly disguised derivatives are like the tags in *Pilgrim's Progress* ("Mr. Ready-to-halt"

καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, οὗ προειστήκει προφητεύων Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τῶν ὀνείρων ὑποκριτής, ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ Ὕπνου λαχὼν τῆς
34 τιμῆς. αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν ὀνείρων οὔτε φύσις οὔτε ἰδέα ἡ αὐτή. ἀλλ' οἳ μὲν μακροί τε ἦσαν καὶ μαλακοὶ καὶ καλοὶ καὶ εὐειδεῖς, οἳ δὲ σκληροὶ καὶ μικροὶ καὶ ἄμορφοι, καὶ οἳ μὲν χρύσεοι, ὡς ἐδόκουν, οἳ δὲ ταπεινοί τε καὶ εὐτελεῖς. ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πτερωτοί τινες καὶ τερατώδεις, καὶ ἄλλοι καθάπερ ἐς πομπὴν διεσκευασμένοι, οἳ μὲν ἐς βασιλέας, οἳ δὲ ἐς θεούς, οἳ δὲ εἰς ἄλλα τοιαῦτα κεκοσμημένοι. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν πάλαι παρ' ἡμῖν ἑωρακότες, οἳ δὴ καὶ προσῄεσαν καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ὡς ἂν καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ παραλαβόντες ἡμᾶς καὶ κατακοιμίσαντες πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ δεξιῶς ἐξένιζον, τήν τε ἄλλην ὑποδοχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ κατασκευάσαντες καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι βασιλέας τε ποιήσειν καὶ σατράπας. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀπῆγον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεδείκνυον καὶ
35 αὐθημερὸν ἐπανῆγον. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα καὶ ἴσας νύκτας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμείναμεν καθεύδοντες καὶ εὐωχούμενοι. ἔπειτα ἄφνω βροντῆς μεγάλης καταρραγείσης ἀνεγρόμενοι καὶ ἀναθορόντες ἀνήχθημεν ἐπισιτισάμενοι. τριταῖοι δ' ἐκεῖθεν τῇ Ὠγυγίᾳ νήσῳ προσσχόντες ἐπιβαίνομεν. πρότερον δ' ἐγὼ λύσας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεγίνωσκον τὰ γεγραμμένα. ἦν δὲ τοιάδε· "Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ χαίρειν. Ἴσθι

etc.); e.g. *Confusion* son of *Thin-as-air; Plutocles* son of *Day-dreamer.* Καρεῶτις (if *κάρος = drunken sleep*) *Snorusian Fount.* — **Ἀντιφῶν**: perhaps also a play upon words; but the sophist and epic poet Antiphon, the opponent of Socrates, wrote a work on the interpretation of dreams.

34. οἳ μὲν χρύσεοι: cf. *Gall.* 6 where the shoemaker's dream was *χρυσοῦς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ χρυσᾶ πάντα περιβεβλημένος.* — **ὡς ἄν**: quasi. Also written *ὡσάν.*

35. ἴσας: see § 1. — **προσσχόντες**: sc. *ναῦν.* — **χαίρειν**: usually alone, sc. *λέγει* or *κελεύει*, like Lat. salutem (dicit), S. (D.). For the relative merits of different greetings see *Laps. in Sal.* 2 ff., where Plato is cited as authority for *εὖ πράττειν.* In the *ἐπιστολαὶ Κρονικαί* Lucian uses *χαίρειν* throughout, but the epistles to Nigrinus

με, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα ἐξέπλευσα παρὰ σοῦ τὴν σχεδίαν κατασκευασάμενος, ναυαγίᾳ χρησάμενον μόλις ὑπὸ Λευκοθέας διασωθῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων χώραν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποπεμφθεὶς κατέλαβον πολλοὺς τῆς γυναικὸς μνηστῆρας ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις τρυφῶντας· ἀποκτείνας δὲ ἅπαντας ὑπὸ Τηλεγόνου ὕστερον τοῦ ἐκ Κίρκης μοι γενομένου ἀνῃρέθην, καὶ νῦν εἰμι ἐν τῇ Μακάρων νήσῳ πάνυ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καταλιπεῖν τὴν παρὰ σοὶ δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεινομένην ἀθανασίαν. ἢν οὖν καιροῦ λάβωμαι, ἀποδρὰς ἀφίξομαι πρὸς σέ." ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου ἡ ἐπιστολή,
36 καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ξενισθῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης εὗρον τὸ σπήλαιον τοιοῦτον οἷον Ὅμηρος εἶπε, καὶ αὐτὴν ταλασιουργοῦσαν. ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔλαβε καὶ ἐπελέξατο, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐδάκρυεν, ἔπειτα δὲ παρεκάλει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ καὶ εἱστία λαμπρῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ περὶ τῆς Πηνελόπης, ὁποία τε εἴη τὴν ὄψιν καὶ εἰ σώφρων, καθάπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάλαι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκόμπαζε· καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιαῦτα ἀπεκρινάμεθα ἐξ ὧν εἰκάζομεν εὐφρανεῖσθαι αὐτήν. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπελθόντες
37 ἐπὶ ναῦν πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ᾐόνος ἐκοιμήθημεν. ἕωθεν δὲ ἀνηγόμεθα σφοδρότερον κατιόντος τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ δὴ χειμασθέντες ἡμέρας δύο τῇ τρίτῃ περιπίπτομεν τοῖς Κολοκυνθοπειραταῖς. ἄνθρωποι δέ εἰσιν οὗτοι ἄγριοι ἐκ τῶν πλησίον νήσων λῃστεύοντες τοὺς παραπλέοντας. τὰ πλοῖα δὲ ἔχουσι μεγάλα κολοκύνθινα τὸ μῆκος πήχεων ἑξήκοντα· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ξηράνωσι τὴν κολόκυνθαν, κοιλάναντες αὐτὴν

and to Cronius (see *Peregr.* 1) begin with εὖ πράττειν. — **τὴν σχεδίαν**: see *Od.* 5. — **ἀποπεμφθείς**: *escorted home.* — **Τηλεγόνου**: the *Telegonia* by Eugammon of Cyrene (ca. 568 B.C.) continued the story of the *Odyssey* and told how Telegonus slew his father in Ithaca. — **ἐπιστολή**: cf. Penelope's letter to Odysseus, Ovid *Her.* 1.

36. **τὸ σπήλαιον**: cf. *Od.* 5, 56 ff. — **ἐπελέξατο**: see note to *D. Mar.* 5, 2.

37. **κοιλάναντες**: see Introd. 16. —

καὶ ἐξελόντες τὴν ἐντεριώνην ἐμπλέουσιν, ἱστοῖς μὲν χρώ-
μενοι καλαμίνοις, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ὀθόνης τῷ φύλλῳ τῆς κο-
λοκύνθης. προσβαλόντες οὖν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δύο πληρωμάτων
ἐμάχοντο καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραυμάτιζον βάλλοντες τῷ σπέρ-
ματι τῶν κολοκυνθῶν. ἀγχωμάλως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ναυμαχοῦν-
τες περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴδομεν κατόπιν τῶν Κολοκυνθοπειρατῶν
προσπλέοντας τοὺς Καρυοναύτας. πολέμιοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀλλή-
λοις, ὡς ἔδειξαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ᾔσθοντο αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας,
ἡμῶν μὲν ὠλιγώρησαν, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἐναυμά-
38 χουν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ ἐπάραντες τὴν ὀθόνην ἐφεύγομεν
ἀπολιπόντες αὐτοὺς μαχομένους. καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν κρατή-
σοντες οἱ Καρυοναῦται ἅτε καὶ πλείους — πέντε γὰρ εἶχον
πληρώματα — καὶ ἀπὸ ἰσχυροτέρων νεῶν μαχόμενοι· τὰ
γὰρ πλοῖα ἦν αὐτοῖς κελύφη, καρύων ἡμίτομα, κεκενωμένα,
μέγεθος δὲ ἑκάστου ἡμιτομίου ἐς μῆκος ὀργυιαὶ πεντεκαί-
δεκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτούς, ἰώμεθά τε τοὺς τραυ-
ματίας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦμεν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀεί
39 τινας ἐπιβουλὰς προσδεχόμενοι· οὐ μάτην. οὔπω γοῦν
ἐδεδύκει ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ἀπό τινος ἐρήμου νήσου προσήλαυνον
ἡμῖν ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ δελφίνων μεγάλων ὀχούμενοι,
λῃσταὶ καὶ οὗτοι· καὶ οἱ δελφῖνες αὐτοὺς ἔφερον ἀσφαλῶς,
καὶ ἀναπηδῶντες ἐχρεμέτιζον ὥσπερ ἵπποι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον
ἦσαν, διαστάντες οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δὲ ἔνθεν ἔβαλλον ἡμᾶς
σηπίαις ξηραῖς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς καρκίνων. τοξευόντων δὲ
καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκοντιζόντων οὐκέτι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τρωθέντες

ἐντεριώνην: *pulp.*—**ἀγχωμάλως**: a Thucydidean reminiscence, see L. & S. s.v. —**Καρυοναύτας**: the *Shellbarkers.*

38. οὐ μάτην: note the tragic solemnity of the asyndeton.

39. οὔπω . . . καί: for parataxis see *Somn.* 1.—**ἐπὶ δελφίνων**: cf. *D. Mar.* 15, 3 παρίππευον ἐπὶ τῶν δελφίνων. For story of Arion cf. *D. Mar.* 8; for *The Boy and the Dolphin*, Pliny *Ep.* 9, 33.—**ἐχρεμέτιζον ὥσπερ ἵπποι**: cf. *Gall.* 2 where the horse of Achilles "bids a long farewell to neighing," μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τῷ χρεμετίζειν.

40 οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν νῆσον κατέφυγον. περὶ δὲ
τὸ μεσονύκτιον γαλήνης οὔσης ἐλάθομεν προσοκείλαντες
ἀλκυόνος καλιᾷ παμμεγέθει· σταδίων γοῦν ἦν αὕτη ἑξή-
κοντα τὸ περίμετρον. ἐπέπλει δὲ ἡ ἀλκυὼν τὰ ᾠὰ θάλπουσα
οὐ πολὺ μείων τῆς καλιᾶς. καὶ δὴ ἀναπταμένη μικροῦ μὲν
κατέδυσε τὴν ναῦν τῷ ἀνέμῳ τῶν πτερῶν· ᾤχετο δ᾽ οὖν
φεύγουσα γοεράν τινα φωνὴν προϊεμένη. ἐσβάντες δὲ ἡμεῖς
ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑποφαινούσης ἐθεώμεθα τὴν καλιὰν σχεδίᾳ
μεγάλῃ προσεοικυῖαν ἐκ δένδρων μεγάλων συμπεφορημένην·
ἐπῆν δὲ καὶ ᾠὰ πεντακόσια, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν Χίου πίθου περι-
πληθέστερον. ἤδη μέντοι καὶ οἱ νεοττοὶ ἔνδοθεν ἐφαίνοντο
καὶ ἔκρωζον. πελέκεσιν οὖν διακόψαντες ἓν τῶν ᾠῶν νεοτ-
41 τὸν ἄπτερον ἐξεκολάψαμεν εἴκοσι γυπῶν ἁδρότερον. ἐπεὶ
δὲ πλέοντες ἀπείχομεν τῆς καλιᾶς ὅσον σταδίους διακοσίους,
τέρατα ἡμῖν μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐπεσήμανεν· ὅ τε γὰρ
ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ χηνίσκος ἄφνω ἐπτερύξατο καὶ ἀνεβόησε, καὶ
ὁ κυβερνήτης ὁ Σκίνθαρος φαλακρὸς ἤδη ὢν ἀνεκόμησε.
καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ παραδοξότατον· ὁ γὰρ ἱστὸς τῆς νεὼς

40. **ἀλκυόνος καλιᾷ**: for the story of the Rukh in the *Arabian Nights* see p. 55. The dialogue *Halcyon*, included in Lucian's writings, is admitted to be spurious. — **ἐπέπλει**: *was floating along on it.* The nest itself floated. — **ἁδρότερον**: *bulkier.*

41. **τέρατα . . . ἐπεσήμανεν**: prodigies like this, freely recorded by Lucian's contemporary "historians," could be traced back to the Homeric hymn to Dionysus. Cf. Ovid (*Met.* 3, 661 ff.); and *h. Hom.* 7, 38–41:

αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἀκρότατον παρὰ ἱστίον ἐξετανύσθη
ἄμπελος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, κατεκρημνῶντο δὲ πολλοὶ
βότρυες· ἀμφ᾽ ἱστὸν δὲ μέλας εἱλίσσετο κισσός,
ἄνθεσι τηλεθάων, χαρίεις δ᾽ ἐπὶ καρπὸς ὀρώρει.

So here: ὁ ἱστὸς ἐβλάστησε and ἐκαρποφόρησεν. — **χηνίσκος**: at the vessel's stern. Cf. Lucian's description of a ship, *Navig.* 5: ἡ πρύμνα μὲν ἐπανέστηκεν ἠρέμα καμπύλη χρυσοῦν χηνίσκον ἐπικειμένη, καταντικρὺ δὲ ἀνάλογον ἡ πρῷρα ὑπερβέβηκεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἀπομηκυνομένη, τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς νεὼς ἔχουσα τὴν Ἶσιν ἑκατέρωθεν. — **ἀνεκόμησε**: like the bald head of the Jackdaw of Rheims (*Ingoldsby Legends*). — **τὸ πάντων παραδοξότατον**: for this superlative cf. Schmid, I, 311.

ἐξεβλάστησε καὶ κλάδους ἀνέφυσε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ ἐκαρποφόρησεν. ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἦν σῦκα καὶ σταφυλὴ μέλαινα, οὔπω πέπειρος. ταῦτα ἰδόντες ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐταράχθημεν καὶ ηὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποτρέψαι τὸ ἀλλόκοτον τοῦ φαντά-
42 σματος. οὔπω δὲ πεντακοσίους σταδίους διελθόντες εἴδομεν ὕλην μεγίστην καὶ λάσιον πιτύων καὶ κυπαρίττων. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰκάσαμεν ἤπειρον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἦν πέλαγος ἄβυσσον ἀρρίζοις δένδροις καταπεφυτευμένον· εἱστήκει δὲ τὰ δένδρα ὅμως ἀκίνητα, ὀρθὰ καθάπερ ἐπιπλέοντα. πλησιάσαντες γοῦν καὶ τὸ πᾶν κατανοήσαντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχόμεθα τί χρὴ δρᾶν· οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τῶν δένδρων πλεῖν δυνατὸν ἦν—πυκνὰ γὰρ καὶ προσεχῆ ὑπῆρχεν—οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐδόκει ῥᾴδιον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον δένδρον ἐπεσκόπουν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ὅπως ἔχοι, καὶ ἑώρων ἐπὶ σταδίους μὲν πεντήκοντα ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλείους τὴν ὕλην οὖσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ αὖθις ἕτερον ὠκεανὸν ἐκδεχόμενον. καὶ δὴ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀναθεμένους τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην τῶν δένδρων—πυκνὴ δὲ ἦν—ὑπερβιβάσαι, εἰ δυναίμεθα, ἐς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἑτέραν· καὶ οὕτως ἐποιοῦμεν. ἐκδήσαντες γὰρ αὐτὴν κάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα μόλις ἀνιμησάμεθα, καὶ θέντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων, πετάσαντες τὰ ἱστία καθάπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ ἐπλέομεν τοῦ ἀνέμου προωθοῦντος ἐπισυρόμενοι· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος ἐπεισῆλθέ με. φησὶ γάρ που κἀκεῖνος·

Τοῖσιν δ' ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισι.

42. **ἄβυσσον ἀρρίζοις** *κτλ.*: like the seaweed in the Sargasso Sea, cf. Janvier's romance. — **ἐκδεχόμενον**: so Hdt., and cf. Lat. *excipere*, e.g. Pliny *Ep.* 2, 17, 2, utrimque excipit iter aliqua ex parte harenosum. — **κάλῳ μεγάλῳ**: the ship was suspended by, or from, a cable. — **ἀνιμησάμεθα**: properly used of the rope (*ἱμονιά*) in a well, but variously transferred; e.g. in *Alex.* 14 the embryonic god is drawn from the mud (*ἀνιμᾶται*) in a *φιάλη*, so in Xen. *Anab.* 4, 2, 8 the soldiers draw their fellows up by their spears. — **Ἀντιμάχου**: of Colophon, flor. ca. 405 B.C. The Emperor Hadrian's reported preference

43 βιασάμενοι δὲ ὅμως τὴν ὕλην ἀφικόμεθα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ πάλιν ὁμοίως καταθέντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπλέομεν διὰ καθαροῦ καὶ διαυγοῦς ὕδατος, ἄχρι δὴ ἐπέστημεν χάσματι μεγάλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος διεστῶτος γεγενημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλάκις ὁρῶμεν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν γενόμενα διαχωρίσματα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ναῦς καθελόντων ἡμῶν τὰ ἱστία οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἔστη παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθοῦσα κατενεχθῆναι. ὑπερκύψαντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἑωρῶμεν βάθος ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων μάλα φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον· εἱστήκει γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὥσπερ μεμερισμένον· περιβλέποντες δὲ ὁρῶμεν κατὰ δεξιὰ οὐ πάνυ πόρρωθεν γέφυραν ἐπεζευγμένην ὕδατος συνάπτοντος τὰ πελάγη κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας θαλάττης ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν διαρρέοντος. προσελάσαντες οὖν ταῖς κώπαις κατ' ἐκεῖνο παρεδράμομεν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπεράσαμεν οὔποτε
44 προσδοκήσαντες. ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς ὑπεδέχετο πέλαγός τε προσηνὲς καὶ νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, εὐπρόσιτος, συνοικουμένη· ἐνέμοντο δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγριοι ἄνθρωποι, Βουκέφαλοι, κέρατα ἔχοντες, οἷον παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν Μινώταυρον ἀναπλάττουσιν. ἀποβάντες δὲ προῄειμεν ὑδρευσόμενοι καὶ σιτία ληψόμενοι, εἴ ποθεν δυνηθείημεν· οὐκέτι γὰρ εἴχομεν. καὶ ὕδωρ μὲν αὐτοῦ πλησίον εὕρομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, πλὴν μυκηθμὸς πολὺς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἠκούετο. δόξαντες οὖν ἀγέλην εἶναι βοῶν, κατ' ὀλίγον προχωροῦντες ἐπέστημεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἡμᾶς ἐδίωκον, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν τῶν

of Antimachus to Homer is even more surprising than the preference for Bacchylides over Pindar on the part of the author of *περὶ Ὕψους*.

43. **βιασάμενοι**: with acc. has a military flavor like Thuc. 7, 72 *βιάσασθαι τὸν ἔκπλουν*, *to force the exit*. — **ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος διεστῶτος**: no reference to the parting of the Red Sea need be thought of. See p. 55, note 4. — **μεμερισμένον**: in Ps.-Dem. 1149, 21 this perf. is used of "going shares" in the inheritance, i.e. "a division for good and all."

44. **Βουκέφαλοι**: a burlesque on Ctesias's dog-headed men (*κυνοκέφαλοι*), *Ctesiae Fragm. de rebus Indicis* 20, cf. Hdt. 4, 191. Possibly also a suggestion of the Minotaur and of Io. Perhaps

ἑταίρων λαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατεφεύγομεν. εἶτα μέντοι πάντες ὁπλισάμενοι — οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀτιμωρήτους περιιδεῖν τοὺς φίλους — ἐμπίπτομεν τοῖς Βουκεφάλοις τὰ κρέα τῶν ἀνῃρημένων διαιρουμένοις· βοήσαντες δὲ πάντες ἐδιώκομεν, καὶ κτείνομέν τε ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ζῶντας αὐτῶν δύο λαμβάνομεν, καὶ αὖθις ὀπίσω ἀνεστρέψαμεν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες. σιτίον μέντοι οὐδὲν εὕρομεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι παρῄνουν ἀποσφάττειν τοὺς εἰλημμένους, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλὰ δήσας ἐφύλαττον αὐτούς, ἄχρι δὴ ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τῶν Βουκεφάλων πρέσβεις αἰτοῦντες ἐπὶ λύτροις τοὺς συνειλημμένους· συνίεμεν γὰρ αὐτῶν διανευόντων καὶ γοερόν τι μυκωμένων ὥσπερ ἱκετευόντων. τὰ λύτρα δὲ ἦν τυροὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἰχθύες ξηροὶ καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ ἔλαφοι τέτταρες, τρεῖς ἑκάστη πόδας ἔχουσα, δύο μὲν τοὺς ὄπισθεν, οἱ δὲ πρόσω εἰς ἕνα συνεπεφύκεσαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀποδόντες τοὺς συνειλημμένους καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιμείναντες ἀνήχθημεν.

45 ἤδη δὲ ἰχθύες τε ἡμῖν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ὄρνεα παρεπέτετο καὶ ἄλλ' ὁπόσα γῆς πλησίον οὔσης σημεῖα προὐφαίνετο. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας εἴδομεν καινῷ τρόπῳ ναυτιλίας χρωμένους· αὐτοὶ γὰρ καὶ ναῦται καὶ νῆες ἦσαν. λέξω δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ τὸν τρόπον· ὕπτιοι κείμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ὀρθώσαντες τὰ αἰδοῖα — μεγάλα δὲ φέρουσιν — ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀθόνην πετάσαντες καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ποδεῶνας κατέχοντες ἐμπίπτοντος τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔπλεον. ἄλλοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους ἐπὶ φελλῶν καθήμενοι ζεύξαντες δύο δελφῖνας ἤλαυνόν τε καὶ ἡνιόχουν· οἱ δὲ

he thinks of their *μητρόπολις* as *Bucephala*, with the horse of Alexander included. — **πόδας**: *legs*. Cf. Rev. 10, 1. So *χείρ* for arm, e.g. Hdt. 2, 121 *ἀποταμὼν ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα*.

45. **μεγάλα δὲ φέρουσιν**: parody on Ctesias's Pygmies (cf. *Ctesiae Fragm. de rebus Indicis* § 11 p. 81 in Didot ed. of Herodotus) who use their hair and beard *ἀντὶ ἱματίου. Αἰδοῖον δὲ μέγα ἔχουσιν κτλ.* — **ἤλαυνόν τε καὶ ἡνιόχουν**: so paired in *Somn.* 15.

προϊόντες ἐπεφέροντο τοὺς φελλούς. οὗτοι ἡμᾶς οὔτε ἠδί-
κουν οὔτε ἔφευγον, ἀλλ' ἤλαυνον ἀδεῶς τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶς τὸ
εἶδος τοῦ ἡμετέρου πλοίου θαυμάζοντες καὶ πάντοθεν περι-
46 *σκοποῦντες. ἑσπέρας δὲ ἤδη προσήχθημεν νήσῳ οὐ με-*
γάλῃ· κατῴκητο δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ὡς ἐνομίζομεν,
Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν προϊεμένων· προσῄεσαν γὰρ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο
καὶ ἠσπάζοντο, πάνυ ἑταιρικῶς κεκοσμημέναι καὶ καλαὶ
πᾶσαι καὶ νεάνιδες, ποδήρεις τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπισυρόμεναι.
ἡ μὲν οὖν νῆσος ἐκαλεῖτο Καβαλοῦσα, ἡ δὲ πόλις Ὑδραμαρ-
δία. λαβοῦσαι δ' οὖν ἡμᾶς αἱ γυναῖκες ἑκάστη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν
ἀπῆγε καὶ ξένον ἐποιεῖτο. ἐγὼ δὲ μικρὸν ὑποστὰς — οὐ γὰρ
χρηστὰ ἐμαντευόμην — ἀκριβέστερόν τε περιβλέπων ὁρῶ
πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀστᾶ καὶ κρανία κείμενα· καὶ τὸ μὲν
βοὴν ἱστάναι καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους συγκαλεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅπλα
χωρεῖν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον. προχειρισάμενος δὲ τὴν μαλάχην
πολλὰ ηὐχόμην αὐτῇ διαφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν.
μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς ξένης διακονουμένης εἶδον τὰ σκέλη οὐ
γυναικός, ἀλλ' ὄνου ὁπλάς· καὶ δὴ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος
συλλαμβάνω τ' αὐτὴν καὶ δήσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀνέκρινον.
ἣ δὲ ἄκουσα μέν, εἶπε δὲ ὅμως, αὐτὰς μὲν εἶναι θαλαττί-
ους γυναῖκας Ὀνοσκελέας προσαγορευομένας, τροφὴν δὲ
ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ξένους. Ἐπειδὰν γάρ, ἔφη, με-
θύσωμεν αὐτούς, συνευνηθεῖσαι κοιμωμένοις ἐπιχειροῦμεν.
ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον δεδεμένην,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στέγος ἐβόων τε καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους
συνεκάλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, τὰ πάντα ἐμήνυον αὐτοῖς
καὶ τά τε ὀστᾶ ἐδείκνυον καὶ ἦγον ἔσω πρὸς τὴν δεδεμένην·

46. **Καβαλοῦσα**: (? καβάλλης, *nag*) *Mare Island.* **Ὑδραμαρδία**, *Waterbury*; cf. infra, ἣ δὲ . . . ὕδωρ ἐγένετο. — **προχειρισάμενος**: *taking the mallow* (§ 28) *into my hands*, i.e. in order to pray to it. — **Ὀνοσκελέας**: *Jenny-jambeaux.* Cf. ὀνοσκελίς used of the hobgoblin Empusa, who also fed on men.

ἣ δὲ αὐτίκα ὕδωρ ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφανὴς ἦν. ὅμως δὲ τὸ ξίφος
47 ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καθῆκα πειρώμενος· τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐγένετο. ταχέως οὖν ἐπὶ ναῦν κατελθόντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ὑπηύγαζε, τὴν ἤπειρον ἀποβλεπόμενοι εἰκάζομεν εἶναι τὴν ἀντιπέραν τῇ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν οἰκουμένῃ κειμένην. προσκυνήσαντες δ᾽ οὖν καὶ προσευξάμενοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐσκοποῦμεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει ἐπιβᾶσι μόνον αὖθις ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, ἀνελθόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν πειραθῆναι τῶν ἐνοικούντων. ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλογιζόμεθα, χειμὼν σφοδρὸς ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ προσαράξας τὸ σκάφος τῷ αἰγιαλῷ διέλυσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μόλις ἐξενηξάμεθα τὰ ὅπλα ἕκαστος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οἷός τε ἦν ἁρπασάμενοι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μέχρι τῆς ἑτέρας γῆς συνενεχθέντα μοι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ παρὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κήτει καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξήλθομεν, παρά τε τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς ὀνείροις καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα παρὰ τοῖς Βουκεφάλοις καὶ ταῖς Ὀνοσκελέαις, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς βιβλίοις διηγήσομαι.

— **ὕδωρ ἐγένετο**: this has been one of the conventional transformations from the time of Proteus; cf. *Od.* 4, 458 *γίγνετο δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ.* At the beginning, *V. H.* A 3, Lucian notified his readers that the Odyssey was one of his models. — **αἷμα ἐγένετο**: so in the case of trees into which human beings have been transformed, the sap very properly reappears in its original condition as blood; cf. the bleeding cornel-trees in Virgil's *Aeneid* 3, 28 ff.

47. **τὴν ἀντιπέραν**: cf. § 27. — **Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν** *κτλ.*: a résumé of *V. H.* A and B. — **τῆς ἑτέρας γῆς**: cf. § 27 *ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ἤπειρον.*

VITARUM AUCTIO and PISCATOR

INTRODUCTION

The *Vitarum Auctio* and its sequel, the *Piscator*, are of Lucian's best; but the two are different in character. In the former all proprieties and probabilities, facts and philosophies, are subordinated to the exigencies of comedy. The *Piscator*, too, is comedy, Aristophanic at once in its roguery, in scenic vividness, and in fertility of invention; but it has the seriousness that inheres in Plato's dramatic setting. It is an antidote, held in readiness, or afterwards prepared, to counteract the effects of the *Vitarum Auctio.* It is possible, of course, that the vehemence of contemporary protest may have been conveniently assumed by Lucian to give him material for a sequel. But this protest was probably real. For it is entirely possible to misunderstand the animus of the *Vitarum Auctio.* Not all the laity nor all philosophers possess the saving sense of humor, the mental flexibility, that welcomes the wanton breeze of comedy blowing where it listeth. Lucian has never lacked for commentators to rise up and call him sacrilegious.[1] But he had as little intention of dragging Socrates, for example, in the mire as had Aristophanes. Indeed, the distorted dummy in the *Clouds* might well work injury to the living Socrates in the minds of his easily swayed contemporaries, but Lucian's masquerade with worthies long since dead could not in the face of the ratified verdict of centuries be harmfully misunderstood by the saner sort for whom Lucian preferred to write. By this it is not meant to assert that he allowed any squeamishness to stand in the way of comic

[1] E.g. Margadant, *De Luciano aequalium suorum censore* (1881), where Lucian as humorist comes off rather badly, pp. 48 ff. "Modo (i.e. in the *Vitarum Auctio*) fuit maledicus, nunc (i.e. in the *Piscator*) fiet idem mendax."

effect, nor that he had no sense of irritation at the dogmas even of the Platonic idealism. The sword of comedy is two-edged, and, as our mood may be, we laugh or are cut to the quick by the irreverence which makes Socrates, for example, (*D. Mort.* 21, 1) cry out as Cerberus snaps at his heel and the spasm of the hemlock jerks him down. And more orthodox souls than Lucian succumb upon occasion to a fit of tedium that supervenes upon the established proprieties and ostracizes Aristides the Just or flouts Penelope as the prudish mother of a prig. The *Piscator*, it may be added, states (§ 46) very seriously Lucian's attitude towards right living as he conceived it.

The two pieces may have been separated[1] in publication by several years, but they should be read together.[2] In the *Vitarum Auctio* samples of souls are put up, described, examined, and knocked down to the first bidder at the auctioneer's own price; or, if they prove unsaleable, set aside. There is, strictly speaking, no "auction." They are sold, or withdrawn, at a fixed price.[3]

The heads of the schools are not mentioned by name, but the disguise is thin. We start, indeed, with "a certain Pythagorean,"[4] but the master himself at once emerges. So we have "a certain Peripatetic," but Aristotle is as easily recognized as in Dante's incognito. The chief difficulty about the dramatis personae is the fusion of Socrates and Plato. We begin to sell off the one and end with the other. Many editors assume a lacuna and make a fresh start (§ 17) where the conversation turns from the historical Socrates to Socrates the mere mouthpiece of Plato. When Dion appears as purchaser there can be no thought of Socrates. It seems not unlikely

[1] Bolderman, *Stud. Lucian.* (p. 133 134 *Tab. Chron.*), suggests a possible interval of nine years.

[2] Bolderman (l.c. p. 86) declares that the former by itself is "ein reines Unding." One might assert this almost as confidently of the first part of Goethe's *Faust.* In each case the sequel completes: "Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben." Other pairs in Lucian are, e.g., *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* and *Vera Historia; De Morte Peregrini* and *Fugitivi.*

[3] Cf. Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, iv, 1, and, for the auctioneer, *The Critic*, i, 2.

[4] See Helm, *Lucian und die Philosophenschulen*, Neue Jahrbücher vol. 9 (1902), pp. 188 ff.

that Lucian intended[1] the composite picture. It was simpler than to make a fresh start with Plato. Socrates was perpetuated by no single school. The earlier philosophic systems focused in him as in a burning-glass. From him the rays diverge again, and the founder of each school — Cynic, Cyrenaic, Megarian, the Academy even — transmitted only a partial or distorted ray of the Socratic system of ethics. But it was inconvenient to disentangle the proportion of responsibility for various views, and all the extra touches, like Community of Marriage[2] and the Theory of Ideas, seem necessary to justify the high price asked and paid. As it is, the two talents, so disproportionate to the prices fetched by all the rest put together, may justify the inference that Lucian, in the midst of his hilarious raillery, must needs sotto voce indicate his real estimate of Socrates — too secure in his noble fame to be harmed by ribald innuendo — and of Plato, "whose little finger," for Lucian[3] as well as for Lowell, "is thicker than the loins of Aristotle."

Lucian's line of samples is not complete. It is not a compendium of Greek philosophy. Still he effects a sale of representatives of the four established[4] schools — Socrates and Plato together representing the Academics — and also of the two dissenting schools, the Cynics and the Sceptics. The varying prices[5] may perhaps be taken as indicating some rough assessment of their current value or their popularity. Of the two pre-Socratic philosophers offered, Pythagoras, as an antique curio, sells for nearly as much as the popular Chrysippus. Heracleitus, the only representative of the so-called Ionic school (Thales and the others not being mentioned),

[1] So Aristophanes in the *Clouds* makes a composite photograph that superimposes upon the ethical Socrates his two pet aversions, the Sophists and the Natural Philosophers.

[2] In the *Ecclesiazusae* Aristophanes does not anticipate the essential limitations made by Plato in the *Republic*. His own application suited his purpose.

[3] Even where Chrysippus sums up Plato's strong points (*Pisc.* 22) Lucian cannot refrain from a mischievous fling, but the note of praise is clear. Compare, inter alia, (*Pisc.* 29 end) the really beautiful and subtly Platonic allusion to the haven of true philosophy; cf. too Helm, l.c., pp. 204–207.

[4] See Introd. pp. xiii and xix, note 1.

[5] See below, note to § 6.

proves entirely unsaleable even with a more modern bit of bric-à-brac in the person of Democritus thrown in, and it is perhaps significant of Lucian's underlying meaning that Aristippus also fails to command a purchaser. The modern market — too critical to be content with a mere Cyrenaic — called for a new and improved brand, in the person of Epicurus,[1] made up of the rejected Aristippus and Democritus. Anaxagoras is ignored; the Eleatics are not even put up together as the "One in Many"; Empedocles in Aetna is still warming up to the attack, and does not appear till the opening scene of the *Piscator*.

Lucian's attitude towards philosophy has been the subject of much debate. It has cost many a dissertation to enumerate his apparent inconsistencies — his apotheosis, at one time, of the Cynic Menippus, and at another his sneering, ill-tempered treatment of contemporary Cynics; his praise and his condemnation of the Epicureans, now honored as the foes of the false prophet or as protagonists against a bewildered, antiquated Zeus, and now branded as utter sensualists; his relentless vituperation of the Stoics, yet his frequent praise of teachings that were pre-eminently Stoical;[2] finally his own open Scepticism contrasted with the genuine delight which he takes, here and elsewhere, in mocking at Pyrrho. It is usual to attempt a somewhat definite chronology in Lucian's writings, guided by his successive changes in this regard. Certain phases are evident enough, but the explanation of Lucian's chronic attitude towards philosophy is perhaps very simple. His aims were ethical, not scientific; that is, not strictly philosophic at all. The superficiality of his acquaintance with the schools of philosophy may have been either real or assumed. Probably it was real. But the confusing of Sceptics and Academics,[3] the jumbling together of pet doctrines, the contemptuously unfair treatment of Stoic logic, may have been an ostentation of indifference to technicalities which he understood better than he allowed, yet despised as obscuring the ethical and practical. At the worst his superficiality

[1] Cf. § 19, note.

[2] In this very piece Chrysippus sells for five times as much as Epicurus.

[3] I.e. the New Academy, see note to *Piscator* 43.

was hardly more inexcusable than Socrates's contempt for the scientific aims of Anaxagoras.

Our two dialogues are typical of Lucian's mental processes. In both his instinct as literary artist has the right of way. When comic effect is sought he had to be concrete; hence it was essential to bring on the stage not a Pythagorean but Pythagoras himself. In the *Piscator* he leads up to his mission in life — a war upon shams. Some ass in the lion's skin or some wolf in sheep's clothing was forever in need of undressing. He had scant leisure for admiring, much less for evolving, the bewitching creations of philosophic millinery. His intellect was not constructive.

For a full enjoyment of the *Auctio* it is essential for the reader to have in mind the details of the lives offered for sale. In addition to the articles in the Dictionary of Biography may be mentioned, for Pythagoras, Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*, pp. 89–109 and 300–321; for Heracleitus, the same, pp. 129–179. This contains a valuable translation and commentary on Bywater's *Heracliti Ephesii Reliquiae*. Also G. W. T. Patrick, *The Fragments of Heraclitus*. For Heracleitus, Pythagoras, and Empedocles see Fairbanks, *First Philosophers of Greece*, and, for Lucian's own time, Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*. For a popular account of the traditional Pythagoras cf. F. Marion Crawford's *Rulers of the South*, vol. I, pp. 44–68.

The Greek comic poets often exploited Pythagoras or his followers, e.g. the Ἀλκμέων of Mnesimachus, the Πυθαγοριστής of Aristophon, the Μνήματα of Antiphanes, and the Ταραντῖνοι both of Alexis and of Cratinus the younger. See also Bolderman, *Studia Lucianea*, p. 78. Lucian's *Gallus* is a vivid bit of travesty on the Pythagorean formulae, especially the transmigration of souls. But to distinguish between the real Pythagoras and the bizarreries of his followers is as difficult as to make out the true form of the sea-god Glaucus under the incrusted barnacles. From it all, however, Pythagoras emerges as an imposing personage, one of the master minds of antiquity.

It has been conjectured (cf. Fritzsche ad *Vit. Auct.* 8; Croiset p. 70) that Lucian drew the suggestion for the *Vitarum Auctio* from one or more pieces entitled Διογένους Πρᾶσις, cited by Diog. Laert.

6, 2, 29.[1] If so, it was only a suggestion. Lucian's dialogue, however, was in turn freely imitated by Theodorus Prodromus[2] (about the eleventh or twelfth century), whose Βίων πρᾶσις ποιητικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν (included in the *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 1810, Art. 37) is most easily accessible in Bolderman's monograph (*Stud. Lucianea*, p. 87). In this Homer, Hippocrates, Aristophanes, Euripides, and Demosthenes are put up for sale.[3]

Amongst other commentators[4] Croiset's treatment deserves especial attention for both dialogues. He gives good grounds for believing that in the *Piscator* Lucian makes felicitous use of a lost play of Eupolis.

[1] Cf. also Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, and Schmid in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 1901, p. 246.

[2] His satirical poetry, it is worth noting, stands at the very threshold of Modern Greek literature.

[3] Bolderman concludes, alas! that the *Vitarum Auctio*, as we have it, is a hasty second edition; and he takes, accordingly, the usual liberties with his libretto.

[4] See also Helm, l.c.

ΒΙΩΝ ΠΡΑΣΙΣ

1 ΖΕΥΣ. *Σὺ μὲν διατίθει τὰ βάθρα καὶ παρασκεύαζε τὸν τόπον τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, σὺ δὲ στῆσον ἑξῆς παραγαγὼν τοὺς βίους, ἀλλὰ κοσμήσας πρότερον, ὡς εὐπρόσωποι φανοῦνται καὶ ὅτι πλείστους ἐπάξονται· σὺ δέ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, κήρυττε καὶ ξυγκάλει ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοὺς ὠνητὰς ἤδη παρεῖναι πρὸς τὸ πωλητήριον. ἀποκηρύξομεν δὲ βίους φιλοσόφους παντὸς εἴδους καὶ προαιρέσεων ποικίλων. εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔχει τὸ παραυτίκα τἀργύριον καταβαλέσθαι, ἐς νέωτα ἐκτίσει καταστήσας ἐγγυητήν.*

ΕΡΜ. *Πολλοὶ συνίασιν· ὥστε χρὴ μὴ διατρίβειν μηδὲ κατέχειν αὐτούς.*

Title: *Βίων Πρᾶσις.* The Latin translation *auctio* is inaccurate, for we have a sale, not an auction — not even a "Dutch auction." Tr. *Sale of Soul-Samples.* Cf. Gen. 46, 27, "all the souls of the house of Jacob," with the use of *βίοι* (almost = *guilds*) in *Bis Acc.* 13 *τέχναις ἢ βίοις ἢ ἐπιστήμαις.* The title is intentionally vague. Master and disciples may be confounded here and provision made for the distinction insisted on in the *Piscator.*

1. **Σὺ μὲν . . . σὺ δέ**: to two attendants. — **τὰ βάθρα**: *the benches.* Cf. Plato *Protag.* 325 E *οἱ διδάσκαλοι . . . παρατιθέασιν* (*τοῖς παισὶ*) *ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγιγνώσκειν . . . ποιήματα*, also Dem. *de Cor.* 258, where Demosthenes taunts Aeschines with helping his father as janitor of the school: *τὸ μέλαν* (*the ink*) *τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν.* — **ὡς φανοῦνται**: poetical syntax, G. 1366. — **Ἑρμῆ, κήρυττε**: Hermes, the knave of all trades. Cf. *D. Deor.* 24. — **ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ**: *with Heaven's blessing.* A common formula in prayers, documents, and proclamations, like quod bene vortat. Cf. § 19. — **βίους φιλοσόφους**: *samples of philosophers.* — **παντὸς εἴδους καὶ προαιρέσεων ποικίλων**: *of every pattern and of assorted sects.* Cf. *Demonax* 5 *φιλοσοφίας εἶδος* and 4 *τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προαιρέσεις.* In § 8 *προαίρεσις* means *purpose*, in § 12, *creed;* and *Pisc.* 23, *doctrine.* — **εἰ οὐκ ἔχει**: for neg. see Introd. 38. — **τὸ παραυτίκα τἀργύριον καταβαλέσθαι**: *to put down the cash forthwith.* Usually the active voice; cf. §§ 18, 25, 27, and *D. Mort.* 4.

ΖΕΥΣ. Πωλῶμεν οὖν.

2 ΕΡΜ. Τίνα θέλεις πρῶτον παραγάγωμεν;

ΖΕΥΣ. Τουτονὶ τὸν κομήτην, τὸν Ἰωνικόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σεμνός τις εἶναι φαίνεται.

ΕΡΜ. Οὗτος ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς κατάβηθι καὶ πάρεχε σαυτὸν ἀναθεωρεῖν τοῖς συνειλεγμένοις.

ΖΕΥΣ. Κήρυττε δή.

ΕΡΜ. Τὸν ἄριστον βίον πωλῶ, τὸν σεμνότατον, τίς ὠνήσεται; τίς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι βούλεται; τίς εἰδέναι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμονίαν καὶ ἀναβιῶναι πάλιν;

ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΗΣ. Τὸ μὲν εἶδος οὐκ ἀγεννής. τί δὲ μάλιστα οἶδεν;

ΕΡΜ. Ἀριθμητικήν, ἀστρονομίαν, τερατείαν, γεωμετρίαν, μουσικήν, γοητείαν. μάντιν ἄκρον βλέπεις.

ΑΓΟ. Ἔξεστιν αὐτὸν ἀνακρίνειν;

ΕΡΜ. Ἀνάκρινε ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

2. **θέλεις . . . παραγάγωμεν**: for *βούλει* (poet. *θέλεις*) with subjv. in question of appeal see G. 1358; H. 866, 3, b; B. 577. — **κομήτην**: for the custom cf. Gulick, p. 175, and Morgan's *Lysias*, 16, 18. — **Ἰωνικόν**: Pythagoras was born at Samos, hence the use of the Ionic dialect. — **σεμνός τις**: *one of your reverend* (*gentlemen*). Cf. on *Somn.* 1. — **Οὗτος**: *you.* Often used in direct address with or without *σύ* or *ὦ*. Cf. Aristophanes and the tragedians passim. — **κατάβηθι**: strictly of descending into the arena, then generalized; cf. Hdt. 5, 22 *Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν στελλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο.* Pythagoras was once an athlete himself; hence, in *Gall.* 8, the Cock (i.e. Pythagoras) complains of the five beans tossed to him for his supper as "not a very sumptuous banquet *ἀλεκτρυόνι ἀθλητῇ ποτε γενομένῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ.*" — **τίς ὑπὲρ . . . ἀναβιῶναι**: Hermes reels off the conventional list of Pythagoras's peculiarities — his rather arrogant assumption of superior knowledge; the music of the spheres; rebirth, etc. Note the auctioneer's crisp asyndeton and anaphora. — **ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΗΣ**: *customer*, see App. — **Ἀριθμητικήν κτλ.**: as the *ἀρχή* of Thales was water, of Anaximander *τὸ ἄπειρον*, of Heracleitus fire, so that of Pythagoras was number, and his philosophical attitude has been described as "Mathematical Imagination." Note that Lucian's list consists of two sets of three, each ending with an anticlimax. — **ἄκρον**: *tip-top.*

3 ΑΓΟ. Ποδαπὸς εἶ σύ;

ΠΥΘ. Σάμιος.

ΑΓΟ. Ποῦ δὲ ἐπαιδεύθης;

ΠΥΘ. Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ σοφοῖσι.

ΑΓΟ. Φέρε δή, ἢν πρίωμαί σε, τί με διδάξεις;

ΠΥΘ. Διδάξομαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἀναμνήσω δέ.

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς ἀναμνήσεις;

ΠΥΘ. Καθαρὴν πρότερον τὴν ψυχὴν ἐργασάμενος καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ῥύπον ἐκκλύσας.

ΑΓΟ. Καὶ δὴ νόμισον ἤδη κεκαθάρθαι με, τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀναμνήσεως;

ΠΥΘ. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίη μακρὴ καὶ ἀφωνίη καὶ πέντε ὅλων ἐτέων λαλέειν μηδέν.

3. **Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ**: see Fairbanks, *The First Philosophers of Greece*, p. 154. — **σοφοῖσι**: Lucian avails himself of the Ionic forms both here and below to give local color. See Introd. 40. — **Διδάξομαι**: see App. to *Somn.* 2. — **ἀναμνήσω**: for Plato's development of the doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις* see *Meno*, 81 ff., where the slave is *reminded*, not *taught*, that "the square on the hypotenuse" etc. Cf. *Phaedo* 18. The English poets, with the instinct of the idealist, have seized upon the doctrine of reminiscence. So Henry Vaughn in *The Retreat*, or in *Friends Departed:*

O Father of eternal life, and all
  Created glories under Thee!
Resume Thy spirit from this world of thrall
  Into true liberty.

Wordsworth elaborates the thought in his *Ode on Immortality*, and so on to the oft-recurring touches in Matthew Arnold, e.g. *Revolutions*, and in *Morality* where Nature herself is personified:

I knew not yet the gauge of time
Nor wore the manacles of space;
I felt it in some other clime,
I saw it in some other place.
  'Twas when the heavenly house I trod,
  And lay upon the breast of God.

— **ψυχὴν . . . ἐκκλύσας**: the Pythagoreans were said to be less particular about bodily cleanliness. Cf. Aristophon *Fragm. Pythagoristes*, 4, 5:

. . . *μόνοισι γὰρ*
τούτοισι τὸν Πλούτωνα συσσιτεῖν ἔφη
δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν. B. *εὐχερῆ θεὸν λέγεις*
εἰ τοῖς ῥύπου μεστοῖσιν ἥδεται ξυνών.

— **κεκαθάρθαι**: note force of tense. Cf. Introd. 34 (*a*). — **ἡσυχίη**: often referred to. Cf. Fairbanks l.c. So the Cock (*Gall.* 4) is accused of breaking the Pythagorean commandment which was second only to the first and greatest (*παντελῶς παράνομον*) about eating beans: *λάλος εἶ καὶ κρακτικός, ὁ δὲ* (i.e. Pythagoras) *σιωπᾶν ἐς πέντε ὅλα ἔτη,*

ΑΓΟ. Ὥρα σοι, ὦ βέλτιστε, τὸν Κροίσου παῖδα παιδεύειν· ἐγὼ γὰρ λάλος, οὐκ ἀνδριὰς εἶναι βούλομαι. τί δὲ μετὰ τὴν σιωπὴν ὅμως καὶ τὴν πενταετίαν;

ΠΥΘ. Μουσουργίῃ καὶ γεωμετρίῃ ἐνασκήσεαι.

ΑΓΟ. Χάριεν λέγεις, εἰ πρῶτόν με κιθαρῳδὸν γενόμενον κᾆτα εἶναι σοφὸν χρή.

4 ΠΥΘ. Εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ τουτέοισιν ἀριθμέειν.

ΑΓΟ. Οἶδα καὶ νῦν ἀριθμεῖν.

ΠΥΘ. Πῶς ἀριθμέεις;

ΑΓΟ. Ἕν, δύο, τρία, τέτταρα.

ΠΥΘ. Ὁρᾷς; ἃ σὺ δοκέεις τέσσερα, ταῦτα δέκα ἐστὶ καὶ τρίγωνον ἐντελὲς καὶ ἡμέτερον ὅρκιον.

ΑΓΟ. Οὐ μὰ τὸν μέγιστον τοίνυν ὅρκον τὰ Τέτταρα, οὔποτε θειοτέρους λόγους ἤκουσα οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἱερούς.

ΠΥΘ. Μετὰ δέ, ὦ ξεῖνε, εἴσεαι γῆς τε πέρι καὶ ἠέρος καὶ

οἶμαι, παρῄνει. — **Κροίσου παῖδα**: cf. Hdt. 1, 85, where the son of Croesus, hitherto a mute, cries out, as a soldier is about to kill his father: *μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.* — **ἀνδριάς**: the conventional mute was the fish. In *Gall.* 1 the Cock, as if in his character as Pythagoras, promises to be *ἀφωνότερος τῶν ἰχθύων.* Cf. *adv. Indoct.* 16; *Pisc.* 51; and Hor. *Carm.* 4, 3, 10 mutis piscibus. The more modern *ἀνδριάντος ἀφωνότερος* also occurs. — **πενταετίαν**: cf. *διετία, τριετία, ἑκατονταετία.* Also forms in *-ετηρίς*, e.g. *ἑκατονταετηρίς.* — **Χάριεν**: adv. from *χαρίεν.* Cf. *ἄληθες*; and *ἀληθές.*

4. ἀριθμεῖν: as the purchaser has just taken *μουσουργίη* in its most limited sense, so Lucian's mischief gives a still more inadequate account of the Pythagorean science of numbers. — **Ἕν**: neuter used in counting; so in German, *eins.* Cf. Lat. undecim (for unum decem). — **Ὁρᾷς**: *there now!* Cf. *Peregr.* 45. — **δέκα . . . τρίγωνον**: i.e. 4 + 3 + 2 + 1 ∴∴ *four* rows and each side of triangle consisting of *four* dots. See Fairbanks, op. cit., pp. 144 and 152. — **ἡμέτερον ὅρκιον**: cf. *Catapl.* 11, where the tyrant says of his parasites *καὶ ὅλως, ὅρκος αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐγώ*, also *de Calum.* 17 *καὶ ὁ μέγιστος ὅρκος ἦν ἅπασιν Ἡφαιστίων.* — **οὐ μὰ . . . Τέτταρα**: *now by your greatest oath-pledge, Number Four.* — **γῆς . . . πυρός**: if Lucian means to attribute to Pythagoras as a technical term the "four elements" of Empedocles (ca. 444 B.C.), he betrays here also his superficial acquaintance with the history of philosophy. Heracleitus, however (cf. *Fragm.* 25), recognized these four as fundamental. — **ἡ φορή**: *rotation.* Cf. infra § 13 *ἀτόμων φορή.* Always used in this passive sense by Plato except in *Rep.* 546 B. Cf. also

ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς ἥτις αὐτέοισιν ἡ φορὴ καὶ ὁκοῖα ἐόντα μορφὴν ὅκως κινέονται.

ΑΓΟ. *Μορφὴν γὰρ ἔχει τὸ πῦρ ἢ ἀὴρ ἢ ὕδωρ;*

ΠΥΘ. *Καὶ μάλα ἐμφανέα· οὐ γὰρ οἷά τε ἀμορφίῃ καὶ ἀσχημοσύνῃ κινέεσθαι. ἐπὶ τουτέοισι δὲ γνώσεαι τὸν θεὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐόντα καὶ νόον καὶ ἁρμονίην.*

ΑΓΟ. *Θαυμάσια λέγεις.*

5 ΠΥΘ. *Πρὸς δὲ τοῖσδεσι τοῖσιν εἰρημένοισι καὶ σεωυτὸν ἕνα δοκέοντα καὶ ἄλλον ὁρεόμενον καὶ ἄλλον ἐόντα εἴσεαι.*

ΑΓΟ. *Τί φῄς; ἄλλος εἰμὶ καὶ οὐχ οὗτος ὅσπερ νῦν πρὸς σὲ διαλέγομαι;*

ΠΥΘ. *Νῦν μὲν οὗτος, πάλαι δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ σώματι καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐνόματι ἐφαντάζεο· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖτις ἐς ἄλλον μεταβήσεαι.*

ΑΓΟ. *Τοῦτο φῄς, ἀθάνατον ἔσεσθαί με ἀλλαττόμενον ἐς*

Schmid, I, 139 and 297. — **ὁκοῖα . . . ὅκως**: for double interr. cf. *Somn.* 12, note. — **ἀμορφίῃ καὶ ἀσχημοσύνῃ**: Lucian quarries his technical terms where he can. This pair seems to be a reminiscence of Arist. *Phys.* 1, 7, 8. The mere pairing of words often gives a certain flavor (cf. "humble and lowly," Book of Common Prayer), and *δέος* and *φόβος* (Plato *Protag.* 358 D), rhetorically, do not need the probe of Prodicus. — **τὸν θεὸν ἀριθμόν**: Athena was represented by the equilateral triangle (see note on § 4, above), and *Four*, as well as being the "great oath," was the sign of Divinity in general. Apollo was represented by *one*, Discord by *two*, Justice by *three*. — **νόον**: this seems to anticipate Plato, or Anaxagoras and his *νοῦς* arranging Chaos into Cosmos. But if Pythagoras was the first (see Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 107) to use the term *κόσμος*, he may also have touched upon the Cosmos-compelling *νοῦς*. His contemporary Anaximenes, indeed, takes pains to state that the "World (or God), though sentient all over, does not *breathe*." This breathing soul of the universe was a conception of the Hindus, even before the close of Vedic times. Cf. *Rigveda* 10, 129 (Kaegi, p. 90):

> Alone that One breathed calmly, self-supported,
> Other than It was none, nor aught above it.

5. **ὁρεόμενον**: $=$ *φαινόμενον*. See App. and Helm *Neue Jahrbücher* 9, 1902, p. 192. — **ἐφαντάζεο . . . μεταβήσεαι**: cf. *Gall.* 16, where the Cock ($=$Pythagoras) gives the shoemaker the autobiography of his transformations. — **ἀθάνατον**: for the popular attitude, in the second century of our era, towards a belief in immortality, cf. Lucian's

6 μορφὰς πλείονας; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱκανῶς. τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ δίαιταν ποῖος εἶ;

ΠΥΘ. Ἐμψυχήιον μὲν οὐδὲ ἓν σιτέομαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλὴν κυάμων.

ΑΓΟ. Τίνος εἵνεκα; ἢ μυσάττῃ τοὺς κυάμους;

ΠΥΘ. Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ ἱροί εἰσι καὶ θωυμαστὴ αὐτέων ἡ φύσις· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν γονή εἰσι, καὶ ἢν ἀποδύσῃς κύαμον ἔτι χλωρὸν ἐόντα, ὄψεαι τοῖσιν ἀνδρηίοισι μορίοισιν ἐμφερέα τὴν φυήν· ἑψηθέντα δὲ ἢν ἀφῇς ἐς τὴν σεληναίην νυξὶ μεμετρημένῃσιν, αἷμα ποιέεις. τὸ δὲ μεῖζον, Ἀθηναίοισι νόμος κυάμοισι τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρέεσθαι.

ΑΓΟ. Καλῶς πάντα ἔφης καὶ ἱεροπρεπῶς. ἀλλὰ ἀπόδυθι, καὶ γυμνὸν γάρ σε ἰδεῖν βούλομαι. ὦ Ἡράκλεις, χρυσοῦς αὐτῷ ὁ μηρός ἐστι. θεός, οὐ βροτός τις εἶναι φαίνεται· ὥστε ὠνήσομαι πάντως αὐτόν. πόσου τοῦτον ἀποκηρύττεις;

ΕΡΜ. Δέκα μνῶν.

patronizing reference to the Christians, *Peregr.* 13. In general cf. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, III, c. 6; A. G. Harkness, *Roman Scepticism and Fatalism*, Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc. 1899, pp. 56 ff.

6. **Ἐμψυχήιον οὐδὲ ἓν**: *not a thing that hath the breath of life.* A corollary of the doctrine of transmigration (see Fairbanks op. cit., pp. 154–155). Cf. E. Arnold, *Light of Asia*, Book VIII:

Kill not — for pity's sake — and lest ye slay
The meanest thing upon its upward way.

also end of Book VI. — **κυάμων**: this sumptuary law of Pythagoras is cited ad nauseam. Lucian hints that he broke his own commandments both when incarnate as a cock (cf. *Gall.* 4, where the shoemaker says to the cock: οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὅ τι σοι παραβάλοιμι, κυάμους χθὲς ἧκον ἔχων, καὶ σὺ οὐδὲ μελλήσας ἀνέλεξας αὐτούς) and in the underworld, cf. *D. Mort.* 20, where he begs Menippus to give him of his beans: "Other laws," he says, "in other worlds" — ἄλλα παρὰ νεκροῖς δόγματα· ἔμαθον γάρ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἴσον κύαμοι καὶ κεφαλαὶ τοκήων ἐνθάδε. — **μυσάττῃ**: cf. *V. H.* B 24 μυσαττόμενος τὴν κυαμοφαγίαν. — **Οὔκ**: *it's not that.* — **νυξὶ μεμετρημένῃσιν**: certo numero noctium, Reitz. For these statements cf. Fairbanks, op. cit., p. 154. — **αἷμα ποιέεις**: cf. Fritzsche ad loc. — **νόμος . . . αἱρέεσθαι**: see L. & S. s.v. ψῆφος 4, d. — **ἔφης**: Introd. 14 (*b*). — **ὁ μηρός**: in the underworld his whole right side is aurified. Cf. *V. H.* B 21. — **Δέκα μνῶν**:

ΑΓΟ. Ἔχω τοσούτου λαβών.

ΖΕΥΣ. Γράφε τοῦ ὠνησαμένου τοὔνομα καὶ ὅθεν ἐστίν.

ΕΡΜ. Ἰταλιώτης, ὦ Ζεῦ, δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ Κρότωνα καὶ Τάραντα καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ Ἑλλάδα· καίτοι οὐχ εἷς, ἀλλὰ τριακόσιοι σχεδὸν ἐώνηνται κατὰ κοινὸν αὐτόν.

ΖΕΥΣ. Ἀπαγέτωσαν· ἄλλον παραγάγωμεν.

7 ΕΡΜ. Βούλει τὸν αὐχμῶντα ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Ποντικόν;

ΖΕΥΣ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΕΡΜ. Οὗτος ὁ τὴν πήραν ἐξηρτημένος, ὁ ἐξωμίας, ἐλθὲ καὶ περίιθι ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ συνέδριον. βίον ἀνδρικὸν πωλῶ, βίον ἄριστον καὶ γεννικόν, βίον ἐλεύθερον· τίς ὠνήσεται;

ΑΓΟ. Ὁ κῆρυξ πῶς ἔφης; πωλεῖς τὸν ἐλεύθερον;

ΕΡΜ. Ἔγωγε.

ΑΓΟ. Εἶτα οὐ δέδιας μή σοι δικάσηται ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ καὶ προσκαλέσηταί σε ἐς Ἄρειον Πάγον;

ΕΡΜ. Οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλει τῆς πράσεως· οἴεται γὰρ εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐλεύθερος.

ΑΓΟ. Τί δ' ἄν τις αὐτῷ χρήσαιτο ῥυπῶντι καὶ οὕτως

note the varying prices paid. Socrates (see above, p. 90) commands a price that might have saved him from the hemlock — two talents being four times the amount proposed at the trial. — **Ἔχω τοσούτου λαβών**: *he's mine at that price.* Cf. here and passim Sheridan, *School for Scandal*, iv, 1. — **ὠνησαμένου**: for form see Introd. 19. — **Ἰταλιώτης** κτλ.: for life of Pythagoras see p. 92. — **τριακόσιοι**: i.e. the Pythagorean brotherhood.

7. Ποντικόν: Diogenes the Cynic was born at Sinope on the Pontus Euxinus about 412 B.C. — **ἐξωμίας**: the ἐξωμίς (Gulick, p. 161), leaving the right shoulder bare, was the usual dress for the poorer classes and for slaves, and hence affected by the Cynics. The Cynic's portrait here touched off — the wallet, the bare arm, the club, the gloomy look, the unkempt, unwashed exterior, the affectation of manliness and freedom — recurs again and again. The old cloak (τρίβων) and the long beard are usually included. — **ἀνδραποδισμοῦ**: *kidnapping.* An action might be brought for kidnapping freemen or other people's slaves. The court of the Areopagus had jurisdiction — penalty, death. Cf. the amusing scene in Lys. 23, 9. — **Οὐδὲν . . . μέλει**: when put up at auction (see Diog. Laert. 6, 2, 4), Diogenes said to the auctioneer: κήρυσσε, εἴ τις ἐθέλει δεσπότην αὑτῷ πρίασθαι· κωλυθεὶς καθίζεσθαι, Οὐδέν,

κακοδαιμόνως διακειμένῳ; πλὴν εἰ μὴ σκαπανέα γε καὶ ὑδροφόρον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικτέον.

ΕΡΜ. Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢν θυρωρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσῃς, πολὺ πιστοτέρῳ χρήσῃ τῶν κυνῶν. ἀμέλει κύων αὐτῷ καὶ τοὔνομα.

ΑΓΟ. Ποδαπὸς δέ ἐστι καὶ τίνα τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπαγγέλλεται;

ΕΡΜ. Αὐτὸν ἐροῦ· κάλλιον γὰρ οὕτω ποιεῖν.

ΑΓΟ. Δέδια τὸ σκυθρωπὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηφές, μή με ὑλακτήσῃ προσελθόντα ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία δάκῃ γε. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὡς διῆρται τὸ ξύλον καὶ συνέσπακε τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ ἀπειλητικόν τι καὶ χολῶδες ὑποβλέπει;

ΕΡΜ. Μὴ δέδιθι· τιθασὸς γάρ ἐστι.

8 ΑΓΟ. Τὸ πρῶτον, ὦ βέλτιστε, ποδαπὸς εἶ;

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ. Παντοδαπός.

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΔΙΟΓ. Τοῦ κόσμου πολίτην ὁρᾷς.

ἔφη, διαφέρει· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅπως ἂν κέοιντο πιπράσκεσθαι. — **πλὴν εἰ**: see Introd. 24 (*a*). — **ὑδροφόρον**: cf. "hewers of wood and drawers of water." With the *ὑδροφορία* one is apt to associate women. At the Panathenaea this task was performed by the wives of the *μέτοικοι* for the wives of the Athenians. For the degradation of the daughter of King Psammetichus, cf. Hdt. 3, 14. See note to *D. Mar.* 6, 1. — **θυρωρόν**: see Plato *Protag.* 314 c for the officious door-tender. In Roman times the janitor was chained to his post; cf. Ovid *Am.* 1, 6, 1: Janitor, indignum, dura religate catena — which fills out the detail of Lucian's cave canem joke. The pun *κυνικός*, *κύων*, is a conventional one. Cf. *de Luctu* 4; *D. Mort.* 20, 1, and 21, 1, where Menippus the Cynic fraternizes with Cerberus as kin of the same kennel: Ὦ Κέρβερε — συγγενὴς γάρ εἰμί σοι κύων καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν. — **ἄσκησιν**: cf. *Toxaris* 27 τὴν ἄσκησιν τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀσκούμενος, *trained as a professional Cynic.* Cf. *Pisc.* 45. — **διῆρται**: mid. voice. ξύλον is acc. case. Cf. Plut. *Lysander* 15 τὴν βακτηρίαν διαράμενος.

8. **ποδαπὸς . . . Παντοδαπός**: Theodorus Prodromus (see p. 93) in selling off Homer does not miss this suggestion: ὁποδαπὸς τὴν διάλεκτον εἶ; Homer answers: παντοδαπός. — **ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ**: Diogenes was known as ὁ μαινόμενος Σωκράτης. — **κόσμου πολίτην**: for the Stoic's "universal commonwealth of mind," as Fronto expounded it, cf.

ΑΓΟ. Ζηλοῖς δὲ τίνα;

ΔΙΟΓ. Τὸν Ἡρακλέα.

ΑΓΟ. Τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ λεοντῆν ἀμπέχῃ; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξύλον ἔοικας αὐτῷ.

ΔΙΟΓ. Τουτί μοι λεοντῆ, τὸ τριβώνιον. στρατεύομαι δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, οὐ κελευστός, ἀλλ᾽ ἑκούσιος, ἐκκαθᾶραι τὸν βίον προαιρούμενος.

ΑΓΟ. Εὖ γε τῆς προαιρέσεως. ἀλλὰ τί μάλιστα εἰδέναι σε φῶμεν; ἢ τίνα τὴν τέχνην ἔχεις;

ΔΙΟΓ. Ἐλευθερωτής εἰμι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἰατρὸς τῶν παθῶν· τὸ δ᾽ ὅλον ἀληθείας καὶ παρρησίας προφήτης εἶναι βούλομαι.

9 ΑΓΟ. Ἄγε δή, ὦ προφῆτα, ἢν πρίωμαί σε, τίνα με τὸν τρόπον διασκήσεις;

ΔΙΟΓ. Πρῶτον μὲν παραλαβών σε καὶ ἀποδύσας τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ ἀπορίᾳ συγκατακλείσας τριβώνιον περιβαλῶ, μετὰ δὲ πονεῖν καὶ κάμνειν καταναγκάσω χαμαὶ καθεύδοντα καὶ ὕδωρ πίνοντα καὶ ὧν ἔτυχε πιμπλάμενον, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ἢν ἔχῃς, ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ἐς τὴν θάλατταν φέρων ἐμβαλεῖς, γάμου δὲ ἀμελήσεις καὶ παίδων καὶ πατρίδος, καὶ πάντα σοι

Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, p. 192 f. — **Ζηλοῖς** . . .: *whom do you pattern after?* — **Ἡρακλέα**: cf. *Symp.* 13 and 14, where the uninvited Cynic refuses with contempt even to sit on the extra chair, but he will, if tired, throw down his cloak and prop himself on his elbow in the attitude conventional with the painters for Heracles, the patron saint of the Cynics. — **κελευστός**: i.e. like Heracles at the bidding of Eurystheus. — **ἐκκαθᾶραι**: i.e. as Heracles cleaned the Augean stables. — **προαιρέσεως**: gen. of cause. — **παρρησίας προφήτης**: *interpreter of independence.* Lucian arrogates to himself in *Pisc.* 19 (et passim) precisely this quality of outspokenness, and names himself Παρρησιάδης.

9. **τίνα . . . διασκήσεις**: *how will you train me?* Cf. *Peregr.* 17 (L. & S. s.v. wrong). — **τρυφὴν** κτλ.: cf. *Cyn.* 1 ff. for the conventional preaching and practice of the Cynics. — **ἐς τὴν θάλατταν**: so the parasitic philosopher Thrasycles (*Tim.* 56) advises Timon to throw all his new-found treasure into the sea: "Only, my dear fellow, not into the *deep* water. Wade in only ὅσον ἐς

λῆρος ἔσται, καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν ἀπολιπὼν ἢ τάφον οἰκήσεις ἢ πυργίον ἔρημον ἢ καὶ πίθον· ἡ πήρα δέ σοι θέρμων ἔστω μεστὴ καὶ ὀπισθογράφων βιβλίων, καὶ οὕτως ἔχων εὐδαιμονέστερος εἶναι φήσεις τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως. ἢν δὲ μαστιγοῖ σέ τις ἢ στρεβλοῖ, τούτων οὐδὲν ἀνιαρὸν ἡγήσῃ.

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς τοῦτο φῂς τὸ μὴ ἀλγεῖν μαστιγούμενον; οὐ γὰρ χελώνης ἢ καράβου δέρμα περιβέβλημαι.

ΔΙΟΓ. Τὸ Εὐριπίδειον ἐκεῖνο ζηλώσεις μικρὸν ἐναλλάξας.

ΑΓΟ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΔΙΟΓ. Ἡ φρήν σοι ἀλγήσει, ἡ δὲ γλῶσσα ἔσται ἀνάλγητος. ἃ δὲ μάλιστα δεῖ προσεῖναι, ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν· ἰταμὸν χρὴ εἶναι καὶ θρασὺν καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ἐξ ἴσης καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἰδιώταις· οὕτως γὰρ ἀποβλέψονταί σε καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ὑπολήψονται. βάρβαρος δὲ ἡ φωνὴ ἔστω καὶ ἀπηχὲς τὸ φθέγμα καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ὅμοιον κυνί, καὶ πρόσωπον δὲ ἐντεταμένον καὶ βάδισμα τοιούτῳ προσώπῳ πρέπον, καὶ ὅλως θηριώδη τὰ πάντα καὶ ἄγρια. αἰδὼς δὲ καὶ ἐπιείκεια καὶ μετριότης ἀπέστω, καὶ τὸ ἐρυθριᾶν ἀπόξεσον τοῦ προσώπου

βουβῶνας . . . ἐμοῦ ὁρῶντος μόνου." — **τάφον οἰκήσεις**: S. Luke 8, 27 *ἀνήρ τις . . . ὃς . . . ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν.* — **πυργίον**: cf. *Tim.* 42, where Timon the Misanthrope vows that he will buy the bit of land and, *πυργίον οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ θησαυροῦ*, live and die in it alone. — **πίθον**: an earthenware jar, not the "tub" to which the procrustean English has condemned this Great Unwashed. These jars were often of enormous size. See Smith's Dict. Antiq. s. v. "Dolium," for illustration of Diogenes emerging from his *πίθος*. — **θέρμων**: see scene in *Pisc.* 45. — **ὀπισθογράφων βιβλίων**: cf. Juvenal 1, 6 scriptus et in tergo. So Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 5, 17, tells how his prolific uncle left the rolls opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos. Backs of scrolls were used for memoranda, school exercises, etc. Martial, 4, 86, 10, apostrophizes a volume of his own as inversa pueris aranda charta. The Ms. of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, brought to light in 1891, is of this character: see Kenyon's Introd., p. xxxix. — **τὸ Εὐριπίδειον**: cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 612, *ἡ γλῶσσ᾽ ὀμώμοχ᾽, ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος*, adapted by Ar. *Ran.* 101: *γλῶτταν δ᾽ ἐπιορκήσασαν ἰδίᾳ τῆς φρενός.*

10. ἀποβλέψονταί σε: usually with prep. *εἰς* or *πρός τινα* or *τι.* — **ἐντεταμένον**: *serious; strained expression.* Cf.

παντελῶς. δίωκε δὲ τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα τῶν χωρίων, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις μόνος καὶ ἀκοινώνητος εἶναι θέλε μὴ φίλον, μὴ ξένον προσιέμενος· κατάλυσις γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐν ὄψει δὲ πάντων, ἃ μηδ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσειεν ἄν τις, θαρρῶν ποίει, καὶ τῶν ἀφροδισίων αἱροῦ τὰ γελοιότερα, καὶ τέλος, ἤν σοι δοκῇ, πολύποδα ὠμὸν ἢ σηπίαν φαγὼν ἀπόθανε. ταύτην σοι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν προξενοῦμεν.

11 ΑΓΟ. Ἄπαγε· μιαρὰ γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπινα λέγεις.

ΔΙΟΓ. Ἀλλὰ ῥᾷστά γε, ὦ οὗτος, καὶ πᾶσιν εὐχερῆ μετελθεῖν· οὐ γάρ σοι δεήσει παιδείας καὶ λόγων καὶ λήρων, ἀλλ' ἐπίτομος αὕτη σοι πρὸς δόξαν ἡ ὁδός· καὶ ἰδιώτης γὰρ ἂν ᾖς, ἤτοι σκυτοδέψης ἢ ταριχοπώλης ἢ τέκτων ἢ τραπεζίτης, οὐδέν σε κωλύσει θαυμαστὸν εἶναι, ἢν μόνον ἀναίδεια καὶ τὸ θράσος παρῇ καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι καλῶς ἐκμάθῃς.

ΑΓΟ. Πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐ δέομαί σου. ναύτης δ' ἂν ἴσως ἢ κηπουρὸς ἐν καιρῷ γένοιο, καὶ ταῦτα, ἢν ἐθέλῃ σε ἀποδόσθαι οὑτοσὶ τὸ μέγιστον δύ' ὀβολῶν.

ΕΡΜ. Ἔχε λαβών· καὶ γὰρ ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαξόμεθα ἐνοχλοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ βοῶντος καὶ ἅπαντας ἁπαξαπλῶς ὑβρίζοντος καὶ ἀγορεύοντος κακῶς.

12 ΖΕΥΣ. Ἄλλον κάλει τὸν Κυρηναῖον, τὸν ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι, τὸν ἐστεφανωμένον.

Chabert's list (p. 139) of words used figuratively. — **δίωκε**: *haunt.* — **κατάλυσις . . . τῆς ἀρχῆς**: a reminiscence of Xen. *Cyr.* 8, 1, 47. The play on words here consists in the use of ἀρχή as a philosophical technical term. — **πολύποδα ἢ σηπίαν**: the exact manner of his death is not known. Diog. Laert. 6, 2, 11–12 gives several divergent accounts. — **προξενοῦμεν**: *we are agents for.*

11. **ἐπίτομος**: *short cut.* — **ἰδιώτης**: *layman.* Cf. note to *Char.* 4. — **ταριχοπώλης**: means (1) *fish-pedlar;* (2) *embalmer;* cf. ταριχεύω. Cf. *Men.* 17 where kings and satraps are ταριχοπωλοῦντας ὑπ' ἀπορίας ἢ τὰ πρῶτα διδάσκοντας γράμματα. — **τραπεζίτης**: *money-changer.* Cf. similar derivation of Eng. *banker*, from Ital. *banco.* — **δύ' ὀβολῶν**: this is bid by the purchaser, elsewhere the auctioneer names the price. — **ἐνοχλοῦντος**: *making himself a nuisance.* — **ἁπαξαπλῶς**: for ἁπλῶς as in *Peregr.* 3.

12. **τὸν Κυρηναῖον**: Aristippus of

ΕΡΜ. Ἄγε δή, πρόσεχε πᾶς· πολυτελὲς τὸ χρῆμα καὶ πλουσίων δεόμενον. βίος οὗτος ἡδύς, βίος τρισμακάριστος. τίς ἐπιθυμεῖ τρυφῆς; τίς ὠνεῖται τὸν ἁβρότατον;

ΑΓΟ. Ἐλθὲ σὺ καὶ λέγε ἅπερ εἰδὼς τυγχάνεις· ὠνήσομαι γάρ σε, ἢν ὠφέλιμος ᾖς.

ΕΡΜ. Μὴ ἐνόχλει αὐτόν, ὦ βέλτιστε, μηδὲ ἀνάκρινε· μεθύει γάρ. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἀποκρίναιτό σοι τὴν γλῶτταν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, διολισθαίνων.

ΑΓΟ. Καὶ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν πρίαιτο διεφθαρμένον οὕτω καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἀνδράποδον; ὅσον δὲ καὶ ἀποπνεῖ μύρων, ὡς δὲ καὶ σφαλερὸν βαδίζει καὶ παράφορον. ἀλλὰ κἂν σύ γε, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, λέγε ὁπόσα πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἃ μετιὼν τυγχάνει.

ΕΡΜ. Τὸ μὲν ὅλον συμβιῶναι δεξιὸς καὶ συμπιεῖν ἱκανὸς καὶ κωμάσαι μετὰ αὐλητρίδος ἐπιτήδειος ἐρῶντι καὶ ἀσώτῳ δεσπότῃ· τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πεμμάτων ἐπιστήμων καὶ ὀψοποιὸς ἐμπειρότατος, καὶ ὅλως σοφιστὴς ἡδυπαθείας. ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν οὖν Ἀθήνησιν, ἐδούλευσε δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις καὶ σφόδρα εὐδοκίμει παρ' αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῆς προαιρέσεως, ἁπάντων καταφρονεῖν, ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, ἁπανταχόθεν ἐρανίζεσθαι τὴν ἡδονήν.

ΑΓΟ. Ὥρα σοι ἄλλον περιβλέπειν τῶν πλουσίων τούτων καὶ πολυχρημάτων· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος ἱλαρὸν ὠνεῖσθαι βίον.

Cyrene, flor. ca. 370 B.C. He represents among the pupils of Socrates the other extreme from Diogenes the Cynic, and through him Epicurus traces back his philosophic pedigree. — **πρόσεχε πᾶς**: cf. Ar. *Thesmoph.* 372 ἄκουε πᾶσα, *Pax* 512 ἄγε πᾶς, 555 πᾶς χώρει. — **ἀποπνεῖ μύρων**: so the Cynic contemptuously contrasts the perfumed beaux with himself, *Cyn.* 17. ὅσον is cognate acc. — **σοφιστὴς ἡδυπαθείας**: *Professor of Luxury.* — **ἐδούλευσε**: Aristippus *served his time*, as Lucian implies, at the court of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse. — **προαιρέσεως**: cf. § 8. — **ἁπανταχόθεν . . . ἡδονήν**: *a pleasure picnic, here, there, and everywhere.* Cf. Heine's

> Und, mein Herz, was dir gefällt,
> Alles, alles darfst du lieben.

— **πολυχρημάτων**: *millionaires.* — **ἱλαρόν**: *gay*, in contrast to τὸ σκυθρωπόν used § 7 of Diogenes. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2, 7, 12 ἱλαραὶ ἀντὶ σκυθρωπῶν.

ΕΡΜ. Ἄπρατος ἔοικεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, οὗτος ἡμῖν μένειν.

13 ΖΕΥΣ. Μετάστησον· ἄλλον παράγαγε· μᾶλλον δὲ τὼ δύο τούτω, τὸν γελῶντα τὸν Ἀβδηρόθεν καὶ τὸν κλάοντα τὸν ἐξ Ἐφέσου· ἅμα γὰρ αὐτὼ πεπρᾶσθαι βούλομαι.

ΕΡΜ. Κατάβητον ἐς τὸ μέσον. τὼ ἀρίστω βίω πωλῶ, τὼ σοφωτάτω πάντων ἀποκηρύττομεν.

ΑΓΟ. Ὦ Ζεῦ τῆς ἐναντιότητος. ὁ μὲν οὐ διαλείπει γελῶν, ὁ δέ τινα ἔοικε πενθῶν· δακρύει γὰρ τὸ παράπαν. τί ταῦτα, ὦ οὗτος; τί γελᾷς;

ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ. Ἐρωτᾷς; ὅτι μοι γελοῖα πάντα δοκέει τὰ πρήγματα ὑμέων καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμέες.

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς λέγεις; καταγελᾷς ἡμῶν ἁπάντων καὶ παρ᾽ οὐδὲν τίθεσαι τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα;

ΔΗΜ. Ὧδε ἔχει· σπουδαῖον γὰρ ἐν αὐτέοισιν οὐδέν, κενεὰ δὲ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀτόμων φορὴ καὶ ἀπειρίη.

ΑΓΟ. Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ κενὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄπειρος.
14 ὢ τῆς ὕβρεως, οὐ παύσῃ γελῶν; σὺ δέ, τί κλάεις, ὦ βέλτιστε; πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαι κάλλιον σοὶ προσλαλεῖν.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ. Ἡγέομαι γάρ, ὦ ξεῖνε, τὰ ἀνθρώπινα

13. **τὼ δύο τούτω**: Democritus (ca. 460–361), and Heracleitus (ca. 500 B.C.), see Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, pp. 1 and 129. They are conventionally paired. Cf. *Peregr.* 7 *ἐπεὶ τέλος τῶν λόγων τὰ Ἡρακλείτου δάκρυα ἐποιήσατο, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου γέλωτος ἄρξομαι.* — **τῆς ἐναντιότητος**: *what a contrast.* — **δοκέει**: for Ionic forms, used here and elsewhere, see Introd. 40. — **κενεὰ** *κτλ.*: cf. Democritus's own use of *τὸ κενεόν* vacuum. Cf. *Icar.* 5, where Menippus complains of his baptism of (un)Natural Philosophy: *ἀρχάς τινας καὶ τέλη καὶ ἀτόμους καὶ κενὰ καὶ ὕλας καὶ ἰδέας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁσημέραι μου καταχέοντες.* — **ἀτόμων φορὴ**: in anticipation of the atomic theory. For his atoms, homogeneous in quality but heterogeneous in form, see his life. — **ἀπειρίη**: with a double meaning: *ἄπειρος* (1), from *πεῖρα*, *ignorance;* (2), from *πέρας*, *infinitude.* To anticipate the pun, tr. *unknown quantity.* — **κενὸς . . . ἄπειρος**: *you are in good sooth a vacuous, unknowing person.*

14. **σὺ δέ**: to Heracleitus. — **προσλαλεῖν**: *to chat.* For the *προσλαλιαί* (*προλαλιαί*) see Introd. p. xvii. — **δακρυώδεα**: in transferred meaning, *tearful.* For other transfers cf. **περιεκτικόν** § 24, *ἐπιδικάσιμος Somn.* 9, and see the list,

πρήγματα ὀϊζυρὰ καὶ δακρυώδεα καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτέων ὅ τι μὴ ἐπικήριον· τῷ δὴ οἰκτίρω τε σφέας καὶ ὀδύρομαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρεόντα οὐ δοκέω μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐσόμενα πάμπαν ἀνιηρά, λέγω δὴ τὰς ἐκπυρώσιας καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμφορήν· ταῦτα ὀδύρομαι καὶ ὅτι ἔμπεδον οὐδέν, ἀλλά κως ἐς κυκεῶνα πάντα συνειλέονται καί ἐστι τὠυτὸ τέρψις ἀτερψίη, γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη, μέγα μικρόν, ἄνω κάτω, περιχορεύοντα καὶ ἀμειβόμενα ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος παιδιῇ.

ΑΓΟ. Τί γὰρ ὁ αἰών ἐστι;

ΗΡΑΚ. Παῖς παίζων, πεσσεύων, συνδιαφερόμενος.

Chabert, p. 136. — **ὅ τι μή**: see Introd. 39 (*d*). — **ἐκπυρώσιας**: the doctrine of a final conflagration — precursor of the Christian

Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla—

was a Stoical theory. Burnet, op. cit., p. 160 ff., contravenes the usual statements and explains that Heracleitus meant simply an "oscillation in the measures like that which produces day and night," and emphasizes Plutarch's words (*de Defectu Oraculorum* 12, J. G. Hutten, vol. IX, p. 316): "I see the Stoic conflagration *trespassing* . . . on the writings of Heracleitus." — **ταῦτα**: this might be cognate acc. with ὀδύρομαι, but is better taken (= διὰ ταῦτα) as on a par with ὅτι and answering τί κλάεις; above. — **κυκεῶνα**: *potpourri*. So Menippus, in *Icar.* 17, describing his aerial view of the world, exclaims: "Just think ὁποῖός τις ὁ κυκεὼν οὗτος ἐφαίνετο." Cf. Heracl. *Fragm.* 84 καὶ ὁ κυκεὼν διίσταται μὴ κινεόμενος. — **τέρψις . . . κάτω**: for the contraries that pass into each other see *Fragm.* 69 ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία ὡυτή (this justifies the comma here after κάτω), *Fragm.* 70 ξυνὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας, and *Fragm.* 78 ταὐτ' εἶναι ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκός, καὶ τὸ ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεῦδον, καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι κἀκεῖνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα. — **περιχορεύοντα**: see App. — **ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος παιδιῇ**: *in the Game of the Ages.* — **παῖς παίζων, πεσσεύων, συνδιαφερόμενος**: *a child at play, playing checkers, and moved about himself in the game*; or, if διαφερόμενος is retained as mid., tr. *moving them about.* The Heracleitus fragment is No. 79: αἰὼν παῖς ἐστι παίζων πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἡ βασιληίη. For the last clause Lucian substitutes the word συνδιαφερόμενος (see App.), possibly as if the παῖς were himself one of the checkers in the game of life. Certainly reference is made to the Heracleitean doctrine of flux and flow, just above identified (περιχορεύοντα καὶ ἀμειβόμενα ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος παιδιῇ) with the "Game of the Aeon." Sbdt. emends to συνεκφερόμενος and understands it of *burial.* This seems to have no natural place in the Heracleitus citation, and φέρω, φορά, etc., are technical terms in draught-playing. Possibly with Helm (op. cit. p. 195) we should read διαφερόμενος συμφερόμενος (*in Streit*

ΑΓΟ. Τί δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι;

ΗΡΑΚ. Θεοὶ θνητοί.

ΑΓΟ. Τί δὲ οἱ θεοί;

ΗΡΑΚ. Ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι.

ΑΓΟ. Αἰνίγματα λέγεις, ὦ οὗτος, ἢ γρίφους συντίθης; ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ Λοξίας οὐδὲν ἀποσαφεῖς.

ΗΡΑΚ. Οὐδὲν γάρ μοι μέλει ὑμέων.

ΑΓΟ. Τοιγαροῦν οὐδὲ ὠνήσεταί σέ τις εὖ φρονῶν.

ΗΡΑΚ. Ἐγὼ δὲ κέλομαι πᾶσιν ἡβηδὸν οἰμώζειν, τοῖσιν ὠνεομένοισι καὶ τοῖσιν οὐκ ὠνεομένοισι.

ΑΓΟ. Τουτοῒ τὸ κακὸν οὐ πόρρω μελαγχολίας ἐστίν· οὐδέτερον δὲ ἔγωγε αὐτῶν ὠνήσομαι.

ΕΡΜ. Ἄπρατοι καὶ οὗτοι μένουσιν.

ΖΕΥΣ. Ἄλλον ἀποκήρυττε.

15 ΕΡΜ. Βούλει τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐκεῖνον, τὸν στωμύλον;

mit sich und doch in Eintracht), comparing Plato *Symp.* 187 A τὸ ἓν γάρ φησι διαφερόμενον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ξυμφέρεσθαι. The other words, παιδὸς ἡ βασιληίη, are enigmatical. If the emphasis is on "kingdom," *Fragm.* 97 may illustrate: "Man is called a baby by God, even as a child by man"; but if the anaphora emphasizes παιδός, cf. Wordsworth's

> Thou whose exterior semblance doth belie
> Thy soul's immensity.

Philo (*Vita Mosis*, p. 607, § 6), τύχης ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πεττευούσης, recalls both *Fragm.* 69 and 79. — **Θεοὶ θνητοί**: these and Heracleitus's next words are from *Fragm.* 67 θεοὶ θνητοί, ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνηκότες. Lucian twists the thought. Heracleitus was trying to show that it all depends on the point of view, i.e. θάνατος = βίος, as concave = convex. — **Αἰνίγματα**: Heracleitus was known as ὁ σκοτεινός by reason of his enigmatical formulae. — **ἡβηδόν**: *from the youth up*, i.e. young and old. The translation, sometimes given, *from your youth on*, can hardly be right. Cf. Hdt. 1, 172 ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδὸν . . . εἵποντο *all the Caunians, young and old, marched in a body*. Lucian had in mind Heracl. *Fragm.* 114 ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἀπάγξασθαι πᾶσι ('all who have reached man's estate') καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις (*minors*) τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν. He puts this phrase in Timon's mouth *Tim.* 37: ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἱκανὸν ἦν, πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡβηδὸν οἰμώζειν ποιῆσαι. — **Ἄπρατοι**: perhaps a measure of their popularity in Lucian's day.

15. τὸν Ἀθηναῖον: for the confusion between Socrates and Plato in what follows, see p. 89 f. — **στωμύλον**: *chatterbox*. In *Men.* 18 Socrates seeks out a

ΖΕΥΣ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΕΡΜ. Δεῦρ᾽ ἐλθὲ σύ. βίον ἀγαθὸν καὶ συνετὸν ἀποκηρύττομεν. τίς ὠνεῖται τὸν ἱερώτατον;

ΑΓΟ. Εἰπέ μοι, τί μάλιστα εἰδὼς τυγχάνεις;

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Παιδεραστής εἰμι καὶ σοφὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά.

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς οὖν ἐγὼ πρίωμαί σε; παιδαγωγοῦ γὰρ ἐδεόμην τῷ παιδὶ καλῷ ὄντι μοι.

ΣΩΚ. Τίς δ᾽ ἂν ἐπιτηδειότερος ἐμοῦ γένοιτο συνεῖναι καλῷ; καὶ γὰρ οὐ τῶν σωμάτων ἐραστής εἰμι, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ ἡγοῦμαι καλήν. ἀμέλει κἂν ὑπὸ ταὐτὸν ἱμάτιόν μοι κατακέωνται, ἀκούσει αὐτῶν λεγόντων μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δεινὸν παθεῖν.

ΑΓΟ. Ἄπιστα λέγεις, τὸ παιδεραστὴν ὄντα μὴ πέρα τῆς ψυχῆς τι πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας, ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἱματίῳ κατακείμενον.

16 ΣΩΚ. Καὶ μὴν ὀμνύω γέ σοι τὸν κύνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον, οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχειν.

talkative corpse (λάλος νεκρός). — **παιδαγωγοῦ**: there is no exact English equivalent for this *male chaperon*. Hence we lose the force of the Greek in Galatians 3, 24 ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγός (A.V. *schoolmaster*, or R.V. *tutor*) . . . εἰς Χριστόν. Christ is the terminus ad quem, and so, too, for the comparison would be the schoolmaster or tutor. — **ἱμάτιον**: an allusion to Plato *Symp.* 219 B–D, where Plato emphatically vindicates the purity of Socrates's life. Lucian is no more serious here in his mocking than when he affirms (*D. Mort.* 21, 1) that Socrates was afraid of Cerberus. — **λεγόντων μηδέν**: for neg. see Introd. 39 (*a*).

16. ὀμνύω = ὄμνυμι: Chabert, p. 111, calls this an Atticism in the mouth of Socrates. See Introd. 14 (*a*). — **τὸν κύνα . . . πλάτανον**: cf. *Icar.* 9 τοῖς μὲν ἀριθμός τις ὁ θεὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ κυνῶν καὶ χηνῶν καὶ πλατάνων ἐπώμνυντο. For Socrates's queer oaths cf. Plato *Ap.* 21 E, where Socrates swears by the dog with great solemnity. See Dyer's note ad loc. and Kock's note on Ar. *Aves* 521. So Plato *Gorg.* 482 B μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν is in Lucian's mind in the context. The suggestion that Socrates, with a scruple against profanity, said τὸν χῆνα to sound like τὸν Ζῆνα (*by Goose! — by Zeus!*), might be paralleled by the vulgar "by golly." See also the fragment of Cratinus Χείρωνες 11 (Meineke ed. minor p. 51): οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὅρκος | ἅπαντι λόγῳ κύων, ἔπειτα χήν, θεοὺς δ᾽ ἐσίγων.

ΑΓΟ. Ἡράκλεις τῆς ἀτοπίας τῶν θεῶν.

ΣΩΚ. Τί σὺ λέγεις; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ κύων εἶναι θεός; οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν Ἄνουβιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅσος; καὶ τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ Σείριον καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς κάτω Κέρβερον;

17 ΑΓΟ. Εὖ λέγεις, ἐγὼ δὲ διημάρτανον. ἀλλὰ τίνα βιοῖς τὸν τρόπον;

ΣΩΚ. Οἰκῶ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ τινα πόλιν ἀναπλάσας, χρῶμαι δὲ πολιτείᾳ ξένῃ καὶ νόμους νομίζω τοὺς ἐμούς.

ΑΓΟ. Ἓν ἐβουλόμην ἀκοῦσαι τῶν δογμάτων.

ΣΩΚ. Ἄκουε δὴ τὸ μέγιστον, ὃ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν μοι δοκεῖ· μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μηδενὸς εἶναι μόνου, παντὶ δὲ μετεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ γάμου.

ΑΓΟ. Τοῦτο φῄς; ἀνῃρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ μοιχείαν νόμους;

ΣΩΚ. Νὴ Δία, καὶ ἁπλῶς γε πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μικρολογίαν.

ΑΓΟ. Τί δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ σοι παίδων δοκεῖ;

ΣΩΚ. Καὶ οὗτοι ἔσονται τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἆθλον φιλῆσαι λαμπρόν τι καὶ νεανικὸν ἐργασαμένοις.

18 ΑΓΟ. Βαβαὶ τῆς φιλοδωρίας. τῆς δὲ σοφίας τί σοι τὸ κεφάλαιον;

—**Ἡράκλεις . . . θεῶν**: *Heracles! what outlandish gods!*—**Τί σὺ λέγεις**: with these words Toxaris begins his defence (*Tox.* 38) of the Scythian gods, *Wind* (ὁ Ἄνεμος) and *Glaive* (ὁ Ἀκινάκης).

17. Εὖ λέγεις κτλ.: *right you are, and I was off the track.*—**πολιτείᾳ . . . νόμους**: the *Republic* and *Laws* of Plato. The transition from Socrates to Plato here becomes natural, as Socrates, in dialogues of Plato's maturity, serves as a convenient mouthpiece for ideas of which Socrates himself was innocent in his lifetime (see p. 90).—**νομίζω τοὺς ἐμούς**: in *V. H.* B 17.—**λαμπρόν τι καὶ νεανικόν**: this pair of words is a reminiscence of Dem. *contra Mid.* 131, with mischievous misapplication.

18. Βαβαί: reduplicated syllables are common as exclamations; e.g. παπαῖ, αἰαῖ, οἰοῖ, ὀτοτοῖ. These may often be onomatopoetic in character. πόποι is apparently (like English *what! what!*) a reduplication of the interr. stem (hence recessive accent?) seen in ποῦ; ποῖ; For accent see App.—**τὸ κεφάλαιον**: *sum and substance.* For varying shades of meaning see L. & S. s.v. and cf. note to *Pisc.* 14; and cf.

ΣΩΚ. *Αἱ ἰδέαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ὄντων παραδείγματα· ὁπόσα γὰρ δὴ ὁρᾷς, τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τὸν οὐρανόν, τὴν θάλατταν, ἁπάντων τούτων εἰκόνες ἀφανεῖς ἑστᾶσιν ἔξω τῶν ὅλων.*

ΑΓΟ. *Ποῦ δὲ ἑστᾶσιν;*

ΣΩΚ. *Οὐδαμοῦ· εἰ γάρ που εἶεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶεν.*

ΑΓΟ. *Οὐχ ὁρῶ ταῦθ' ἅπερ λέγεις τὰ παραδείγματα.*

ΣΩΚ. *Εἰκότως· τυφλὸς γὰρ εἶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων ὁρῶ εἰκόνας καὶ σὲ ἀφανῆ κἀμὲ ἄλλον, καὶ ὅλως διπλᾶ πάντα.*

ΑΓΟ. *Τοιγαροῦν ὠνητέος εἶ σοφὸς καὶ ὀξυδερκής τις ὤν. φέρε δ' ἴδω τί καὶ πράξεις με ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σύ;*

ΕΡΜ. *Δὸς δύο τάλαντα.*

ΑΓΟ. *Ὠνησάμην ὅσου φῄς. τἀργύριον μέντοι ἐς αὖθις καταβαλῶ.*

19 ΕΡΜ. *Τί σοι τοὔνομα;*

ΑΓΟ. *Δίων Συρακούσιος.*

Icar. 1 where it (apparently) means "sum total." — **Αἱ ἰδέαι**: this doctrine Plato developed independently of the historical Socrates, but utilized him as a dramatis persona, just as Lucian chooses here to confuse the two. See e.g. Plato's *Republic* 595–597. — **ἔξω τῶν ὅλων**: in the *Phaedr.* 247 c, the chariots drive outside the vault of heaven and behold the pure ideas. — **Οὐδαμοῦ**: so in *Gall.* 17 the soul of Pythagoras stands waiting about, unhoused, for its next incarnation — *περιέμενον ἄοικος ἑστώς*. — **Οὐχ ὁρῶ**: so Strepsiades (Ar. *Nub.* 326) has difficulty in seeing the new-fangled deities. — **ἄλλον . . . διπλᾶ**: a burlesque of Plato's *τὰ ὄντα* and *τὰ φαινόμενα*. Lucian should have made him see *triple;* cf. *Rep.* 597 B *τριτταί τινες κλῖναι . . . γίγνονται*, i.e. the Deity's, the carpenter's, the painter's. — **τί πράξεις με**: *what will you charge me?* — **δύο τάλαντα**: to judge by the price Lucian must have rolled Socrates and Plato into one (see above, on § 6). Plato's actual market value when sold as a slave in Sicily was (if we are to trust Diod. Sic. 15, 7, 1) only 20 minae, and Socrates's counter proposition against the death penalty (*Apol.* 38 B), was only 30 minae. — **Ὠνησάμην**: for form see Introd. 19.

19. **Δίων**: Plato, as the story went, having been shipwrecked and sold as a slave, was purchased and liberated by Dion of Syracuse. Lucian here lets fall altogether the Socratic mask. —

ΕΡΜ. Ἄγε λαβὼν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. τὸν Ἐπικούρειον σὲ ἤδη καλῶ. τίς ὠνεῖται τοῦτον; ἔστι μὲν τοῦ γελῶντος ἐκείνου μαθητὴς καὶ τοῦ μεθύοντος, οὓς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἀπεκηρύττομεν. ἓν δὲ πλεῖον οἶδεν αὐτῶν, παρ᾽ ὅσον δυσσεβέστερος τυγχάνει· τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἡδὺς καὶ λιχνείᾳ φίλος.

ΑΓΟ. Τίς ἡ τιμή;

ΕΡΜ. Δύο μναῖ.

ΑΓΟ. Λάμβανε· τὸ δεῖνα δὲ ὅπως εἰδῶ, τίσι χαίρει τῶν ἐδεσμάτων;

ΕΡΜ. Τὰ γλυκέα σιτεῖται καὶ τὰ μελιτώδη καὶ μάλιστά γε τὰς ἰσχάδας.

ΑΓΟ. Χαλεπὸν οὐδέν· ὠνησόμεθα γὰρ αὐτῷ παλάθας τῶν Καρικῶν.

20 ΖΕΥΣ. Ἄλλον κάλει, τὸν ἐν χρῷ κουρίαν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν σκυθρωπόν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς.

Ἐπικούρειον: Epicurus (342–270 B.C.) developed the doctrines of Democritus in regard to the atoms (εἴδωλα) and ennobled into a really lofty conception Aristippus's sensualistic doctrine of pleasure as the summum bonum. Hence he is here called *τοῦ γελῶντος ἐκείνου μαθητὴς καὶ τοῦ μεθύοντος*. Although the term "Epicurean" has become synonymous with pleasure-seeking, Epicurus himself sought his summum bonum in a certain ἀταραξία and ἀπονία conditioned upon φρόνησις. Plato's *Phaedrus* itself is scarcely further removed from sensualism than was the real Epicurus. See Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, chapter ix. Some fragments of Epicurus's lost work περὶ φύσεως, in thirty-seven books, were recovered from the cinders of Herculaneum. — **δυσσεβέστερος**: in his bitter satire *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 16 ff., Lucian selects the Epicurean Damis as the arch-atheist and protagonist against the Established Church. — **τὸ δεῖνα** κτλ.: *but, the mischief!* (*before I forget it, tell me*) *that I may know, what does he like to eat?* On ὅπως etc. Fritzsche compares *D. Mort.* 1, 2 ὅπως δὲ εἰδῶ μάλιστα, ὁποῖός τίς ἐστι τὴν ὄψιν. — **Καρικῶν**: figs abounded in Caria (Reitz.). But a certain contempt lurks in the expression. Hesychius says that Καρικός = εὐτελής *worthless*; καρίζω and καριστί were used as synonymous with barbarous. Καρίων was a slave-name in comedy.

20. **τὸν ἐν χρῷ κουρίαν**: *with his hair cropped close.* In the description of the runaway (*Fugit.* 27) the short hair of the head is expressly distinguished from the long beard, ἐν χρῷ κουρίαν, ἐν γενείῳ βαθεῖ. *Can't be he*, is the answer, *for my slave* καὶ ἐκόμα δὲ καὶ τὸ γένειον ἔτιλλετο. — **τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς**;

ΕΡΜ. Εὖ λέγεις· ἐοίκασι γοῦν πολύ τι πλῆθος αὐτὸν περιμένειν τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπηντηκότων. αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν πωλῶ, τῶν βίων τὸν τελειότατον. τίς πάντα μόνος εἰδέναι θέλει;

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς τοῦτο φῄς;

ΕΡΜ. Ὅτι μόνος οὗτος σοφός, μόνος καλός, μόνος δίκαιος ἀνδρεῖος βασιλεὺς ῥήτωρ πλούσιος νομοθέτης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁπόσα ἐστίν.

ΑΓΟ. Οὐκοῦν, ὦγαθέ, καὶ μάγειρος μόνος καὶ νὴ Δία γε σκυτοδέψης καὶ τέκτων καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα;

ΕΡΜ. Ἔοικεν.

21 ΑΓΟ. Ἐλθέ, ὦγαθέ, καὶ λέγε πρὸς τὸν ὠνητὴν ἐμὲ ποῖός τις εἶ, καὶ πρῶτον εἰ οὐκ ἄχθῃ πιπρασκόμενος καὶ δοῦλος ὤν.

ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ. Οὐδαμῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ταῦτά ἐστιν. ὅσα δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀδιάφορα εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.

Chrysippus (280–207 B.C.), the successor of Zeno and Cleanthes, whose popularity was so lasting that we read in Juvenal *Sat.* 2, 4 quamquam plena omnia gypso | Chrysippi invenias: nam perfectissimus horum est. The Stoic school received its name from ἡ ποικίλη Στοά (adorned with the paintings of Polygnotus, see Paus. 1, 15, 1 with Frazer's notes), the favorite rendezvous. In the sequel (*Pisc.* 13 and 16) Lucian designates the Porch simply by ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ. — In Lucian's lifetime (162 A.D.) the people of Soli, Chrysippus's native place, struck a coin, probably reproducing faithfully an earlier portrait of Chrysippus. See Head, *Hist. Num.* 612, and Harrison & Verrall, *Mythol. and Monum. of Anc. Athens*, p. 146. Lucian exhibits especial malice towards the Stoics. In the *Symposium* three representatives of the Stoic school bear their full share in the disgraceful scenes there related. In *Bis Acc.* 22 (read also 19–23), Pleasure, represented by Epicurus as counsel for the defense, gains a unanimous verdict against Stoa. On the *Hermotimus* see Introd. p. xvii. — **αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετήν**: *virtue unadulterated.* In *Hermot.* 3 the Stoic master is represented as on top of the hill of Virtue and trying to draw his pupil up πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν. — **μόνος οὗτος**: the long dialogue of the *Hermotimus* is largely devoted to breaking down these extravagant pretensions.

21. **εἰ οὐκ**: indir. question. G. 1609; H. 1022, a; B. 670, 3. — **ἀδιάφορα**: in the Stoic philosophy τὰ ἀδιάφορα are things neither good nor bad — res mediae or indifferentes. So, at the end of Lucian's *Symposium*, Hermon the Epicurean taunts Zenothemis the

ΑΓΟ. Οὐ μανθάνω ὅ τι λέγεις.

ΧΡΥΣ. Τί φῄς; οὐ μανθάνεις ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων τὰ μέν ἐστι προηγμένα, τὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀποπροηγμένα;

ΑΓΟ. Οὐδὲ νῦν μανθάνω.

ΧΡΥΣ. Εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ εἶ συνήθης τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀνόμασιν οὐδὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν ἔχεις. ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος, ὁ τὴν λογικὴν θεωρίαν ἐκμαθών, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμβαμα καὶ παρασύμβαμα ὁποῖα καὶ ὁπόσον ἀλλήλων διαφέρει.

ΑΓΟ. Πρὸς τῆς σοφίας, μὴ φθονήσῃς καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, τί τὸ σύμβαμα καὶ τί τὸ παρασύμβαμα· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπλήγην ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

ΧΡΥΣ. Ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς φθόνος· ἢν γάρ τις χωλὸς ὢν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωλῷ ποδὶ προσπταίσας λίθῳ τραῦμα ἐξ ἀφανοῦς λάβῃ, ὁ τοιοῦτος εἶχε μὲν δήπου σύμβαμα τὴν χωλείαν, τὸ τραῦμα δὲ παρασύμβαμα προσέλαβεν.

22 ΑΓΟ. Ὦ τῆς ἀγχινοίας. τί δὲ ἄλλο μάλιστα φῂς εἰδέναι;

Stoic, who is bawling with pain as he holds on with his two hands to the sites respectively of his bitten-off nose and his gouged-out eye: "Now please remember, Zenothemis, that you consider pain as *οὐκ ἀδιάφορον*." — **εἶναι συμβέβηκεν**: *are necessarily.* — **Οὐ μανθάνω**: in the suit between Pleasure (Epicurus) and Stoa, *Bis Acc.* 22, the latter is summarily choked off because the dicasts say they do not understand her questions. — **τὰ . . . προηγμένα**: Cicero (*de Fin.* 4, 26) instances valere, locupletem esse, as not bona but *προηγμένα*, and egestas, morbus, as not mala but reiectanea (*ἀποπροηγμένα*). Cf. *Bis Acc.* 22. — **ὀνόμασιν**: *technical terms.* — **τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν**: *the apprehending imagination.* Cf. *Symp.* 23 and Pearson, *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 62. — **τὴν λογικήν**: *ἡ λογική* (sc. *τέχνη*), as technical term meaning *logic*, occurs first in Cicero (e.g. *de Fin.* 1, 7; *Tusc.* 4, 14). — **σύμβαμα καὶ παρασύμβαμα**: Stoic technical terms. A proposition complete in itself, like *Σωκράτης περιπατεῖ*, they called *σύμβαμα*, "*συμβέβηκε γὰρ τὸ περιπατεῖν Σωκράτει*," but a sentence like *Σωκράτης φιλεῖ* they called *παρασύμβαμα*, i.e. one not complete in itself (*οὐκ αὐτοτελής*), "*ἐπειδὴ λείπει τὸ τίνα*." Lucian, of course, mocks at these stock phrases by a literal interpretation, e.g. "a man is blessed with (*συνέβη*) a corn," this is a *σύμβαμα*, "some one treads on it," this is a *παρασύμβαμα*,

ΧΡΥΣ. Τὰς τῶν λόγων πλεκτάνας, αἷς συμποδίζω τοὺς προσομιλοῦντας καὶ ἀποφράττω καὶ σιωπᾶν ποιῶ, φιμὸν ἀτεχνῶς αὐτοῖς περιτιθείς· ὄνομα δὲ τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ ὁ ἀοίδιμος συλλογισμός.

ΑΓΟ. Ἡράκλεις. ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ βίαιον λέγεις.

ΧΡΥΣ. Σκόπει γοῦν· ἔστι σοι παιδίον;

ΑΓΟ. Τί μήν;

ΧΡΥΣ. Τοῦτο ἤν πως κροκόδειλος ἁρπάσῃ πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλαζόμενον εὑρών, κᾆτά σοι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνῆται αὐτό, ἢν εἴπῃς τἀληθὲς ὅ τι δέδοκται αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἀποδόσεως τοῦ βρέφους, τί φήσεις αὐτὸν ἐγνωκέναι;

ΑΓΟ. Δυσαπόκριτον ἐρωτᾷς. ἀπορῶ γὰρ ὁπότερον ἂν εἰπὼν ἀπολάβοιμι. ἀλλὰ σὺ πρὸς Διὸς ἀποκρινάμενος ἀνάσωσαί μοι τὸ παιδίον, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ αὐτὸ καταπιών.

ΧΡΥΣ. Θάρρει· καὶ ἄλλα γάρ σε διδάξομαι θαυμασιώτερα.

ΑΓΟ. Τὰ ποῖα;

22. **φιμόν**: for this metaphor cf. S. Mark 1, 25 *φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, be muzzled and come out of him.* Cf. *Peregr.* 15. — **ὁ ἀοίδιμος συλλογισμός**: *the Rt. Reverend Syllogism.* One of this fraternity is that known as the "Horned," i.e. *εἴ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτ' ἔχεις, κέρατα δ' οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, κέρατα ἄρα ἔχεις.* For this and other syllogisms see Diog. Laert. *Chrysippus* c. 11. — **κροκόδειλος**: this fallacy was also known as the *κροκοδειλίτης*. Cf. Reitz. ad *D. Mort.* 1, 2, and Tooke's note. A crocodile has seized a child, but offers to spare it if the mother can answer the conundrum, "Am I going to give back your boy or not?" If the mother says "You will not," he gives up the child, but as her words are false the child is lost; but if she says "You will," the crocodile cries "False!" and devours the child. No solution for the sophism! The humane grammarians, however, advise the mother to give the first answer, get temporary possession of the child, and make off with it. There were other such in the common stock. The "Electra" and "The Veiled Figure" are given below. For "The Reaper" (*ὁ θερίζων*) etc. cf. Reitz. ad loc. Also see *Symp.* 23 *κερατίναν ἢ σωρείτην ἢ θερίζοντα λόγον.* In *D. Mort.* 1, 2, Diogenes sends up word from Hades to the philosophers, bidding them stop their nonsense, *καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐρίζουσι καὶ κέρατα φύουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ κροκοδείλους ποιοῦσι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄπορα ἐρωτᾶν διδάσκουσι τὸν νοῦν.*

ΧΡΥΣ. Τὸν θερίζοντα καὶ τὸν κυριεύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Ἠλέκτραν καὶ τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον.

ΑΓΟ. Τίνα τοῦτον τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον ἢ τίνα τὴν Ἠλέκτραν λέγεις;

ΧΡΥΣ. Ἠλέκτραν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν πάνυ, τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἣ τὰ αὐτὰ οἶδέ τε ἅμα καὶ οὐκ οἶδε· παρεστῶτος γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦ Ὀρέστου ἔτι ἀγνῶτος οἶδε μὲν Ὀρέστην ὅτι ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς, ὅτι δὲ οὗτος Ὀρέστης ἀγνοεῖ. τὸν δ᾽ αὖ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ πάνυ θαυμαστὸν ἀκούσῃ λόγον· ἀπόκριναι γάρ μοι, τὸν πατέρα οἶσθα τὸν σεαυτοῦ;

ΑΓΟ. Ναί.

ΧΡΥΣ. Τί οὖν; ἢν σοι παραστήσας τινὰ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον ἔρωμαι εἰ τοῦτον οἶσθα, τί φήσεις;

ΑΓΟ. Δηλαδὴ ἀγνοεῖν.

23 ΧΡΥΣ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σός· ὥστε εἰ τοῦτον ἀγνοεῖς, δῆλος εἶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν σὸν ἀγνοῶν.

ΑΓΟ. Οὐ μὲν οὖν· ἀλλ᾽ ἀποκαλύψας αὐτὸν εἴσομαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν τί σοι τῆς σοφίας τὸ τέλος, ἢ τί πράξεις πρὸς τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφικόμενος;

ΧΡΥΣ. Περὶ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ φύσιν τότε γενήσομαι, λέγω δὲ πλοῦτον, ὑγίειαν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. πρότερον δὲ ἀνάγκη πολλὰ προπονῆσαι λεπτογράφοις βιβλίοις παραθήγοντα τὴν ὄψιν καὶ σχόλια συναγείροντα καὶ σολοικισμῶν ἐμπιπλάμενον καὶ ἀτόπων ῥημάτων· καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, οὐ θέμις γενέσθαι σοφόν, ἢν μὴ τρὶς ἐφεξῆς τοῦ ἐλλεβόρου πίῃς.

— **τὴν πάνυ**: cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3, 5, 1 *τοῦ πάνυ Περικλέους*, and Lucian *Hermot.* 11 *παρ᾽ Εὐκράτει τῷ πάνυ*.

23. τὸ τέλος: cf. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 1, 1 *πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος, ὁμοίως δὲ πρᾶξίς τε καὶ προαίρεσις ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ . . . διαφορὰ δέ τις φαίνεται τῶν τελῶν.* — **πρὸς τὸ ἀκρότατον**: *to the apex.* Cf. *V. H.* B 18. — **σολοικισμῶν**: Lucian perhaps accepted the derivation as if from Soli in Cilicia, Chrysippus's birthplace, but Plutarch (ed. Reitz. II, p. 1047, *de Stoicorum Repugnantiis*) quotes Chrysippus as ready in the case of *τοὺς βελτίονος ἐχομένους* to pardon *καὶ ἐλλείψεις καὶ νὴ Δία σολοικισμούς, ἐφ᾽*

ΑΓΟ. Γενναῖά σου ταῦτα καὶ δεινῶς ἀνδρικά. τὸ δὲ Γνίφωνα εἶναι καὶ τοκογλύφον — καὶ γὰρ τάδε ὁρῶ σοι προσόντα — τί φῶμεν. ἀνδρὸς ἤδη πεπωκότος τὸν ἐλλέβορον καὶ τελείου πρὸς ἀρετήν;

ΧΡΥΣ. Ναί· μόνῳ γοῦν τὸ δανείζειν πρέποι ἂν τῷ σοφῷ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι, τὸ δανείζειν δὲ καὶ λογίζεσθαι τοὺς τόκους πλησίον εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦ συλλογίζεσθαι, μόνου ἂν εἴη τοῦ σπουδαίου καθάπερ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ μόνον γε ἁπλοῦς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τοὺς τόκους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἑτέρους τόκους λαμβάνειν· ἢ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι τῶν τόκων οἳ μέν εἰσι πρῶτοί τινες, οἳ δὲ δεύτεροι καθάπερ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀπόγονοι; ὁρᾷς δὲ δῆτα καὶ τὸν συλλογισμὸν ὁποῖά φησιν· εἰ τὸν πρῶτον τόκον λήψεται, λήψεται καὶ τὸν δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν πρῶτον λήψεται, λήψεται ἄρα καὶ τὸν δεύτερον.

24 ΑΓΟ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ μισθῶν πέρι τὰ αὐτὰ φῶμεν, οὓς σὺ λαμβάνεις ἐπὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ παρὰ τῶν νέων, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μόνος ὁ σπουδαῖος μισθὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ λήψεται;

ΧΡΥΣ. Μανθάνεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἕνεκα λαμβάνω, τοῦ δὲ διδόντος αὐτοῦ χάριν· ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστιν ὃ μέν τις ἐκχύτης, ὃ δὲ περιεκτικός, ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ἀσκῶ εἶναι περιεκτικόν, τὸν δὲ μαθητὴν ἐκχύτην.

οἷς ἄλλοι ἂν αἰσχυνθείησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι. — **ἐλλεβόρου**: see *V. H.* B 18. — **Γνίφωνα**: *a Shylock.* A standing name for usurers. Cf. *Tim.* 58; *Gall.* 30; *Catapl.* 17. — **συλλογίζεσθαι . . . λογίζεσθαι**: *reflecting . . . collecting.* — **τόκων . . . ἀπόγονοι**: cf. Plato *Rep.* 555 E where the capitalists are blamed because they make their injurious loans and get back from *τοῦ πατρὸς* (i.e. the principal, regularly expressed by *τὸ κεφάλαιον*) *ἐκγόνους τόκους πολλαπλασίους.*

24. **τοῦ δὲ διδόντος . . . χάριν**: *for the sake of the giver.* Chrysippus magnanimously accepts the less blessed lot of the receiver. In *Hermot.* 9 we read how the irascible old Stoic hales his pupil before the archon, choking him and shouting with rage, and all but bites off his nose (a liberty not unknown, cf. *Symp.* 44), because he was dilatory in paying his fees (*ἐπεὶ τὸν μισθὸν μὴ ἀπεδίδου κατὰ καιρόν*). Later we learn that he was eminently successful as a

ΑΓΟ. *Καὶ μὴν τοὐναντίον ἐχρῆν, τὸν νέον μὲν εἶναι περιεκτικόν, σὲ δὲ τὸν μόνον πλούσιον ἐκχύτην.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Σκώπτεις, ὦ οὗτος. ἀλλ' ὅρα μή σε κατατοξεύσω τῷ ἀναποδείκτῳ συλλογισμῷ.*

ΑΓΟ. *Καὶ τί δεινὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βέλους;*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Ἀπορία καὶ σιωπὴ καὶ διαστραφῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν.* **25** *ὃ δὲ μέγιστον, ἢν ἐθέλω, τάχιστά σε ἀποδείξω λίθον.*

ΑΓΟ. *Πῶς λίθον; οὐ γὰρ Περσεὺς σύ, ὦ βέλτιστε, εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Ὧδέ πως· ὁ λίθος σῶμά ἐστι;*

ΑΓΟ. *Ναί.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Τί δέ; τὸ ζῷον οὐ σῶμα;*

ΑΓΟ. *Ναί.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Σὺ δὲ ζῷον;*

ΑΓΟ. *Ἔοικα γοῦν.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Λίθος ἄρα εἶ σῶμα ὤν.*

ΑΓΟ. *Μηδαμῶς. ἀλλ' ἀνάλυσόν με πρὸς Διὸς καὶ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ποίησον ἄνθρωπον.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Οὐ χαλεπόν· ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἴσθι ἄνθρωπος. εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, πᾶν σῶμα ζῷον;*

ΑΓΟ. *Οὔ.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Τί δέ; λίθος ζῷον;*

ΑΓΟ. *Οὔ.*

ΧΡΥΣ. *Σὺ δὲ σῶμα εἶ;*

ΑΓΟ. *Ναί.*

money-lender, his debtors respecting his drastic methods as a collector: *ἀποδιδόασι γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ καιρὸν τοὺς τόκους.* — **κατατοξεύσω**: reminiscence of Ar. *Nub.* 944 *ῥηματίοισιν καινοῖς . . . κατατοξεύσω.* — **ἀναποδείκτῳ**: five forms of this *indemonstrable syllogism* are recorded. In *Bis Acc.* 22 Stoa reluctantly yields the floor, exclaiming: *καὶ μὴν ἐκράτησα ἄν, εἰ συνηρώτησα ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ἀναποδείκτων σχήματι.* — **διαστραφῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν**: *a sprained intellect.*

25. **Ὧδέ πως**: Lucian's sarcasm does not prove that such logical fallacies

ΧΡΥΣ. Σῶμα δὲ ὢν ζῷον εἶ;

ΑΓΟ. Ναί.

ΧΡΥΣ. Οὐκ ἄρα λίθος εἶ ζῷόν γε ὤν.

ΑΓΟ. Εὖ γε ἐποίησας, ὡς ἤδη μου τὰ σκέλη καθάπερ τῆς Νιόβης ἀπεψύχετο καὶ πάγια ἦν. ἀλλὰ ὠνήσομαί γε σέ. πόσον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταβαλῶ;

ΕΡΜ. Μνᾶς δώδεκα.

ΑΓΟ. Λάμβανε.

ΕΡΜ. Μόνος δ' αὐτὸν ἐώνησαι;

ΑΓΟ. Μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' οὗτοι πάντες, οὓς ὁρᾷς.

ΕΡΜ. Πολλοί γε καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καρτεροὶ καὶ τοῦ θερίζοντος ἄξιοι.

26 ΖΕΥΣ. Μὴ διάτριβε· ἄλλον κάλει τὸν Περιπατητικόν.

ΕΡΜ. Σέ φημι, τὸν καλόν, τὸν πλούσιον. ἄγε δή, ὠνήσασθε τὸν συνετώτατον, τὸν ἅπαντα ὅλως ἐπιστάμενον.

ΑΓΟ. Ποῖος δέ τις ἐστί;

ΕΡΜ. Μέτριος, ἐπιεικής, ἁρμόδιος τῷ βίῳ, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διπλοῦς.

ΑΓΟ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΕΡΜ. Ἄλλος μὲν ὁ ἔκτοσθεν φαινόμενος, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ἔντοσθεν εἶναι δοκεῖ· ὥστε ἢν πρίῃ αὐτόν, μέμνησο τὸν μὲν ἐσωτερικόν, τὸν δὲ ἐξωτερικὸν καλεῖν.

ΑΓΟ. Τί δὲ γιγνώσκει μάλιστα;

ΕΡΜ. Τρία εἶναι τἀγαθά, ἐν ψυχῇ, ἐν σώματι, ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός.

were actually taught by the great Stoic teachers. — **Πολλοί**: for Stoicism as the court religion see Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, chapter xv. — **τοῦ θερίζοντος**: see above on § 22.

26. τὸν Περιπατητικόν: Aristotle. — **τὸν πλούσιον**: Alexander is said to have given him eight hundred talents. — **τὸν συνετώτατον . . . ἐπιστάμενον**: so by Dante he is recognized, unnamed, as the "Master of them that know." Even Lucian must add three epithets of genuine admiration: *μέτριος, ἐπιεικής, ἁρμόδιος*. — **διπλοῦς**: Lucian, it is to be feared, would have frequented only the exoteric matinée. — **ψυχῇ**: this

ΑΓΟ. Ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖ. πόσου δέ ἐστιν;

ΕΡΜ. Εἴκοσι μνῶν.

ΑΓΟ. Πολλοῦ λέγεις.

ΕΡΜ. Οὔκ, ὦ μακάριε· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔχειν τι ἀργύριον δοκεῖ. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ὠνησάμενος. ἔτι δὲ εἴσῃ αὐτίκα μάλα παρ' αὐτοῦ πόσον μὲν ὁ κώνωψ βιοῖ τὸν χρόνον, ἐφ' ὁπόσον δὲ βάθος ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καταλάμπεται, καὶ ὁποία τίς ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν ὀστρείων.

ΑΓΟ. Ἡράκλεις τῆς ἀκριβολογίας.

ΕΡΜ. Τί δέ, εἰ ἀκούσειας ἄλλα πολλῷ τούτων ὀξυδερκέστερα, γονῆς τε πέρι καὶ γενέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς μήτραις τῶν ἐμβρύων πλαστικῆς, καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος μὲν γελαστικόν, ὄνος δὲ οὐ γελαστικὸν οὐδὲ τεκταινόμενον οὐδὲ πλωιζόμενον;

ΑΓΟ. Πάνσεμνα φῂς καὶ ὀνησιφόρα τὰ μαθήματα ὥστε ὠνοῦμαι αὐτὸν τῶν εἴκοσιν.

27 ΕΡΜ. Εἶεν.

ΖΕΥΣ. Τίς λοιπὸς ἡμῖν καταλείπεται;

ΕΡΜ. Ὁ Σκεπτικὸς οὗτος. σὺ ὁ Πυρρίας πρόσιθι καὶ ἀποκηρύττου κατὰ τάχος. ἤδη μὲν ὑπορρέουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ

elusive word varies with the context and author. Aristotle, *de Anima* 1, 5, defines ψυχή as ἐντελέχεια σώματος, *the vital principle*, 'that by which the body actually *is*.' To guard against the materializing degradation of the ψυχή Christian theology felt constrained to express the ego by a trinity that exalts τὸ πνεῦμα as supreme. Cf. 1 Thess. 5, 23; Heb. 4, 12. — **ὠνησάμενος**: for form see Introd. 19. — **ὁ κώνωψ**: Aristotle investigated biological and other laws of nature, while Socrates repudiated (Plato *Apol.* 20 E) all such investigations as foreign to his purely ethical inquiries. Aristophanes, nevertheless, found it convenient to include this also in his burlesque of Socrates in *Nub.* 145, where the pupil tells how Socrates measures the marvellous standing jump of a flea. — **ὄνος . . . ὀνησιφόρα**: *ass . . . assisting*. — **τῶν εἴκοσιν**: for use of article cf. *D. Mort.* 4, 1.

27. **Τίς λοιπὸς ἡμῖν καταλείπεται**: *whom have we left over?* — **ὁ Σκεπτικός**: Pyrrho the Sceptic, a contemporary of Aristotle. While Chrysippus the Stoic drew away from the scepticism of the Academics, Pyrrho developed this scepticism into a scheme of philosophy. He asserted that knowledge of reality is unattainable; hence,

καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἡ πρᾶσις ἔσται. ὅμως δὲ τίς καὶ τοῦτον ὠνεῖται;

ΑΓΟ. *Ἔγωγε. ἀλλ' οὖν πρῶτον εἰπέ μοι, σὺ τί ἐπίστασαι;*

ΦΙΛ. *Οὐδέν.*

ΑΓΟ. *Πῶς τοῦτ' ἔφησθα;*

ΦΙΛ. *Ὅτι οὐδὲν ὅλως εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ.*

ΑΓΟ. *Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄρα ἐσμέν τινες;*

ΦΙΛ. *Οὐδὲ τοῦτο οἶδα.*

ΑΓΟ. *Οὐδ' ὅτι σύ τις ὢν τυγχάνεις;*

ΦΙΛ. *Πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοῦτ' ἀγνοῶ.*

ΑΓΟ. *Ὢ τῆς ἀπορίας. τί δέ σοι τὰ σταθμία ταυτὶ βούλεται;*

ΦΙΛ. *Ζυγοστατῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς λόγους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἴσον ἀπευθύνω, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀκριβῶς ὁμοίους τε καὶ ἰσοβαρεῖς ἴδω, τότε δὴ τότε ἀγνοῶ τὸν ἀληθέστερον.*

ΑΓΟ. *Τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τί ἂν πράττοις ἐμμελῶς;*

ΦΙΛ. *Τὰ πάντα πλὴν δραπέτην μεταδιώκειν.*

ΑΓΟ. *Τί δαὶ τοῦτό σοι ἀδύνατον;*

assent to any proposition must be suspended, and as a result of this suspension of judgment the philosopher will attain tranquillity of mind. This *ἀταραξία*, it may be noted, was the common goal of the post-Aristotelian philosophies generally. Lucian is apt to confuse Sceptics and Academics, e.g. *V.H.* B 18 *τοὺς δὲ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ἔλεγον ἐθέλειν μὲν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπέχειν δὲ ἔτι καὶ διασκέπτεσθαι.* Cf. also *Icar.* 25, where Zeus, who has a chance to make an equally good thing out of two opposed prayers, *τὸ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπεπόνθει καὶ οὐδέν τι ἀποφήνασθαι δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Πύρρων ἐπεῖχεν ἔτι καὶ διεσκέπτετο.* — **Πυρρίας**: *Carrots!* Lucian avails himself of this as a common slave name to anticipate the selling of Pyrrho as a slave. For the name compare *Tim.* 22, where the ex-slave, inheriting a fortune, is changed from a "Sambo" into a "Mr. Grandcourt:" *ἀντὶ τοῦ τέως Πυρρίου ἢ Δρόμωνος ἢ Τιβίου Μεγακλῆς ἢ Μεγάβυζος ἢ Πρώταρχος μετονομασθείς.* — **ΦΙΛ.** (*φιλόσοφος*): editt. usually change to ΠΥΡΡΩΝ. — **σταθμία**: cf. *τάλαντον* (usually pl.) and *ζυγόν*. Also called *ἡ τρυτάνη*. Cf. *Hist. Conscr.* 49 *ζυγοστατείτω ὥσπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα.* — **μεταδιώκειν**: *catch, apprehend;* a pun prepared to

ΦΙΛ. Ὅτι, ὦγαθέ, οὐ καταλαμβάνω.

ΑΓΟ. Εἰκότως· βραδὺς γὰρ καὶ νωθής τις εἶναι δοκεῖς. ἀλλὰ τί σοι τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐπιστάσεως;

ΦΙΛ. Ἡ ἀμαθία καὶ τὸ μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε ὁρᾶν.

ΑΓΟ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ τυφλὸς ἅμα καὶ κωφὸς εἶναι λέγεις;

ΦΙΛ. Καὶ ἄκριτός τε προσέτι καὶ ἀναίσθητος καὶ ὅλως τοῦ σκώληκος οὐδενὶ διαφέρων.

ΑΓΟ. Ὠνητέος εἶ διὰ ταῦτα. πόσου τοῦτον ἄξιον χρὴ φάναι;

ΕΡΜ. Μνᾶς Ἀττικῆς.

ΑΓΟ. Λάμβανε. τί φής, ὦ οὗτος; ἐπριάμην σε;

ΦΙΛ. Ἄδηλον.

ΑΓΟ. Μηδαμῶς· ἐώνημαι γὰρ καὶ τἀργύριον κατέβαλον.

ΦΙΛ. Ἐπέχω περὶ τούτου καὶ διασκέπτομαι.

ΑΓΟ. Καὶ μὴν ἀκολούθει μοι, καθάπερ χρὴ ἐμὸν οἰκέτην.

ΦΙΛ. Τίς οἶδεν εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα φής;

ΑΓΟ. Ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ ἡ μνᾶ καὶ οἱ παρόντες.

ΦΙΛ. Πάρεισι γὰρ ἡμῖν τινες;

ΑΓΟ. Ἀλλ' ἔγωγέ σε ἤδη ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὸν μυλῶνα πείσω εἶναι δεσπότης κατὰ τὸν χείρω λόγον.

ΦΙΛ. Ἔπεχε περὶ τούτου.

ΑΓΟ. Μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἤδη γε ἀπεφηνάμην.

ΕΡΜ. Σὺ μὲν παῦσαι ἀντιτείνων καὶ ἀκολούθει τῷ πριαμένῳ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐς αὔριον παρακαλοῦμεν· ἀποκηρύξειν γὰρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ βαναύσους καὶ ἀγοραίους βίους μέλλομεν.

anticipate οὐ καταλαμβάνω, *I do not catch on.* — **τὸ τέλος**: see note to § 23. — **τοὺς ἰδιώτας**: often contrasted with φιλόσοφοι as *the laity.* Cf. *Pisc.* 34, *Nigr.* 24, and *Fugit.* 4, where Zeus asks Philosophy: πρὸς τίνων οὖν ἠδίκησαι, εἰ μήτε τοὺς ἰδιώτας μήτε τοὺς φιλοσόφους αἰτιᾷ;

ΑΛΙΕΥΣ Η ΑΝΑΒΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ

1 ΣΩΚ. Βάλλε βάλλε τὸν κατάρατον ἀφθόνοις τοῖς λίθοις, ἐπίβαλλε τῶν βώλων, προσεπίβαλλε καὶ τῶν ὀστράκων, παῖε τοῖς ξύλοις τὸν ἀλιτήριον, ὅρα μὴ διαφύγῃ· καὶ σὺ βάλλε, ὦ Πλάτων· καὶ σύ, ὦ Χρύσιππε, καὶ σὺ δέ. πάντες ἅμα ξυνασπίσωμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν,

ὡς πήρη πήρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, βάκτρα δὲ βάκτροις.

κοινὸς γὰρ πολέμιος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ὅντινα οὐχ ὕβρικε. σὺ δέ, ὦ Διόγενες, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε, χρῶ τῷ ξύλῳ· μηδὲ

Title: Ἁλιεὺς ἢ Ἀναβιοῦντες: *The Fisher, or the Resurgents.* The first title is drawn from §§ 47–52, and, since the piece is a close sequel to the Βίων Πρᾶσις, the second title has the effect of "Enter various resurrected philosophers."

1. Βάλλε . . . παῖε: a reminiscence of the enraged chorus in Ar. *Ach.* 280–283:

οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος.
βάλλε, βάλλε, βάλλε, βάλλε,
παῖε πᾶς τὸν μιαρόν.
οὐ βαλεῖς, οὐ βαλεῖς;

— **ἀφθόνοις τοῖς λίθοις**: cf. *D. Mort.* 10, 12 βάλλεται ἀφθόνοις τοῖς λίθοις. For pred. use of adj. see Introd. 23 (*a*). — **τοῖς ξύλοις**: conventional accessory of the philosopher's dress — especially the Cynic's. Cf. *Peregr.* 15 ἐκόμα δὲ ἤδη . . . καὶ . . . τὸ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἦν. — **Χρύσιππε**: see *Vit. Auct.* passim for the travesty of this popular Stoic teacher and for the other philosophers. — **καὶ σὺ δέ**: apparently this is addressed to Pythagoras. All the others who had been put up at the auction (except the unsaleable pair, Democritus and Heracleitus) are mentioned expressly. Pythagoras has too important a rôle in both pieces (cf. infra passim, where he is usually mentioned first or alone) to have been omitted here. — **ὡς πήρη** κτλ.:

So that the wallet may succor the wallet, the sticks help each other,

parody on *Il.* 2, 363:

ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις.

πήρη, βάκτρα, etc., are as technical as "town and gown," or "the cloth." —

ἀνῆτε· διδότω τὴν ἀξίαν βλάσφημος ὤν. τί τοῦτο; κεκμήκατε, ὦ Ἐπίκουρε καὶ Ἀρίστιππε; καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐχρῆν.

ἀνέρες ἔστε, σοφοί, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ὀργῆς.

2 Ἀριστότελες, ἐπισπούδασον ἔτι θᾶττον. εὖ ἔχει· ἑάλωκε τὸ θηρίον· εἰλήφαμέν σε, ὦ μιαρέ. εἴσῃ γοῦν αὐτίκα οὕστινας ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἐκακηγόρεις. τῷ τρόπῳ δέ τις αὐτὸν καὶ μετέλθῃ; ποικίλον γάρ τινα ἐπινοῶμεν θάνατον κατ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐξαρκέσαι δυνάμενον· καθ' ἕκαστον γοῦν ἑπτάκις δίκαιός ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἀπολωλέναι.

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ Α. Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεσκολοπίσθαι δοκεῖ αὐτόν.

ΦΙΛ. Β. Νὴ Δία, μαστιγωθέντα γε πρότερον.

ΦΙΛ. Γ. Τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκεκόφθω.

ΦΙΛ. Δ. Τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτὴν ἔτι πολὺ πρότερον ἀποτετμήσθω.

ΣΩΚ. Σοὶ δὲ τί, Ἐμπεδόκλεις, δοκεῖ;

ΕΜΠ. Ἐς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς μάθῃ μὴ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι.

ΠΛΑΤ. Καὶ μὴν ἄριστον ἦν καθάπερ τινὰ Πενθέα ἢ Ὀρφέα

λακιστὸν ἐν πέτραισιν εὑρέσθαι μόρον,

ἵνα καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἔχων ἀπηλλάττετο.

ἀνέρες ἔστε κτλ.:

Prove yourselves men, ye savants, and go in for impetuous anger,

parody on *Il.* 6, 112:

ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

2. **Ἀριστότελες**: the situation becoming acute, ὦ is omitted. Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 20. — **εὖ ἔχει**: *good enough!* — **καθ' ἕκαστον γοῦν ἑπτάκις**: cf. Lys. 12, 37 *οἳ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν πεπραγμένων δὶς ἀποθανόντες δίκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἄν.* — **Τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκεκόφθω**: cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 67. King Philip was *τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένος.* — **Ἐς τοὺς κρατῆρας**: Empedocles (who does not appear in the *Vitarum Auctio*) knows by experience something more effective than the conventional Persian or Roman methods. — **λακιστόν** κτλ.: probably from some unidentified Euripidean (?) tragedy. — **ἵνα**: cf. G. 1371; H. 884; Gl. 642, c; B. 590, note 4.

3 ΛΟΥΚ. Μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἱκεσίου φείσασθέ μου.

ΣΩΚ. Ἄραρεν· οὐκ ἂν ἀφεθείης ἔτι. ὁρᾷς δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἅ φησιν,

ὡς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστά;

ΛΟΥΚ. Καὶ μὴν καθ' Ὅμηρον ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἱκετεύω· αἰδέσεσθε γὰρ ἴσως τὰ ἔπη καὶ οὐ παρόψεσθε ῥαψῳδήσαντά με·

ζωγρεῖτ' οὐ κακὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἄξια δέχθε ἄποινα,
χαλκόν τε χρυσόν τε, τὰ δὴ φιλέουσι σοφοί περ.

ΠΛΑΤ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀπορήσομεν πρὸς σὲ Ὁμηρικῆς ἀντιλογίας. ἄκουε γοῦν·

μὴ δή μοι φύξιν γε, κακηγόρε, βάλλεο θυμῷ
χρυσόν περ λέξας, ἐπεὶ ἵκεο χεῖρας ἐς ἁμάς.

ΛΟΥΚ. Οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν. ὁ μὲν Ὅμηρος ἡμῖν ἄπρακτος, ἡ μεγίστη ἐλπίς. ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην δή μοι καταφευκτέον· τάχα γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνος σώσειέ με.

μὴ κτεῖνε· τὸν ἱκέτην γὰρ οὐ θέμις κτανεῖν.

3. **Μηδαμῶς** *κτλ.*: again a reminiscence of Ar. *Ach.* 295–296:

ΧΟΡ. *σοῦ γ' ἀκούσωμεν; ἀπολεῖ· κατά σε χώσομεν τοῖς λίθοις.*
ΔΙΚ. *μηδαμῶς, πρὶν ἄν γ' ἀκούσητ'· ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὦγαθοί.*

— **πρὸς Ἱκεσίου** (sc. *Διός*): *by the savior of suppliants.* — **Ἄραρεν· οὐκ ἂν ἀφεθείης**: *it's settled! you can't get off.* Cf. *Catapl.* 8 *ἄραρεν· οὐκ ἂν τύχοις.* — **ὡς οὐκ ἔστι** *κτλ.*: cf. *Il.* 22, 262. — **ζωγρεῖτ' οὐ** *κτλ.*: patchwork from *Il.* 10, 378, 379; 1, 23; 11, 131–133.

Save me alive, for I'm not a bad fellow; here's plenty of ransom,
Here is some copper and gold, to savants these are welcome — you know it.

— **μὴ δή μοι** *κτλ.*:

Do not, I charge thee, blasphemer, be pondering flight in thy bosom,
Making this mention of gold, now that once thou hast come to our clutches,

altering *Il.* 10, 447 and 448:

μὴ δή μοι φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ, ἐσθλά περ ἀγγείλας, ἐπεὶ ἵκεο χεῖρας ἐς ἁμάς.

— **ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην**: so Hera (*Jupp. Trag.* 1) says: *κοίμισον ὀργάν, εἰ μή, ὦ Ζεῦ, δυνάμεθα ῥαψῳδεῖν ὥσπερ οὗτοι μηδὲ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὅλον καταπεπώκαμεν.* — **μὴ κτεῖνε** *κτλ.*: not identified in extant lines of Euripides. Lucian probably prefers a parody for his own answer here. See two lines below, *Νῦν οὖν κτλ.*, while

ΠΛΑΤ. Τί δέ; οὐχὶ κἀκεῖνα Εὐριπίδου ἐστίν,
οὐ δεινὰ πάσχειν δεινὰ τοὺς εἰργασμένους;

ΛΟΥΚ. Νῦν οὖν ἕκατι ῥημάτων κτενεῖτέ με;

ΠΛΑΤ. Νὴ Δία· φησὶ γοῦν ἐκεῖνος αὐτός,
ἀχαλίνων στομάτων
ἀνόμου τ' ἀφροσύνας
τὸ τέλος δυστυχία.

4 ΛΟΥΚ. Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ δέδοκται πάντως ἀποκτιννύναι καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ τὸ διαφυγεῖν με, φέρε, τοῦτο γοῦν εἴπατέ μοι, οἵτινες ὄντες ἢ τί πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀμείλικτα ὀργίζεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ με ξυνειλήφατε;

ΠΛΑΤ. Ἅτινα μὲν εἴργασαι ἡμᾶς τὰ δεινά, σεαυτὸν ἐρώτα, ὦ κάκιστε, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους σου λόγους, ἐν οἷς φιλοσοφίαν τε αὐτὴν κακῶς ἠγόρευες καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ὕβριζες ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀποκηρύττων σοφοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐλευθέρους· ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσαντες ἀνεληλύθαμεν ἐπὶ σὲ παραιτησάμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸν Ἅιδην, Χρύσιππος οὑτοσὶ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ ὁ σιωπῶν οὗτος Πυθαγόρας καὶ ὁ Διογένης καὶ ἅπαντες ὅσους διέσυρες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

5 ΛΟΥΚ. Ἀνέπνευσα· οὐ γὰρ ἀποκτενεῖτέ με, ἢν μάθητε ὁποῖος ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐγενόμην· ὥστε ἀπορρίψατε τοὺς λίθους, μᾶλλον δὲ φυλάττετε. χρήσεσθε γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων.

Plato borrows direct, *οὐ δεινά κτλ.* from *Orest.* 413, and *ἀχαλίνων στομάτων κτλ.* from *Bacchae* 385–387.

4. **οὐδεμία μηχανὴ τὸ διαφυγεῖν**: *οὐδεμία μηχανή* regularly has *ὅπως* (*οὐ*) with fut. indic. or *μὴ οὐ* with inf. or *τὸ μή* and inf. Lucian uses *μηχανή*, without a negative (but with interr. *τίς*, *implying neg.*), with an inf. in *Imag.* 1: *τίς ἔσται μηχανὴ ἀποστῆναι αὐτῆς;* — **τοὺς . . . λόγους**: i.e. *Vit. Auct.* — **ἐλευθέρους**: e.g. Diogenes, cf. *Vit. Auct.* 7.

5. **Ἀνέπνευσα**: *I breathe again! I'm saved!* For "dramatic aorist" as Eng.

ΠΛΑΤ. Ληρεῖς. σὲ δὲ τήμερον χρὴ ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ ἤδη γε

λάινον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἕνεχ᾽ ὅσσα ἔοργας.

ΛΟΥΚ. Καὶ μήν, ὦ ἄριστοι, ὃν ἐχρῆν μόνον ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐπαινεῖν οἰκεῖόν τε ὑμῖν ὄντα καὶ εὔνουν καὶ ὁμογνώμονα καί, εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, κηδεμόνα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, εὖ ἴστε ἀποκτενοῦντες, ἢν ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τοσαῦτα περὶ ὑμῶν πεπονηκότα. ὁρᾶτε οὖν μὴ τὸ τῶν νῦν φιλοσόφων αὐτὸ ποιεῖτε, ἀχάριστοι καὶ ὀργίλοι καὶ ἀγνώμονες φαινόμενοι πρὸς ἄνδρα εὐεργέτην.

ΠΛΑΤ. Ὢ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας. καὶ χάριν σοι τῆς κακηγορίας προσοφείλομεν; οὕτως ὡς ἀνδραπόδοις ἀληθῶς οἴει διαλέγεσθαι καὶ εὐεργεσίαν καταλογιῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ ὕβρει καὶ παροινίᾳ τῶν λόγων;

6 ΛΟΥΚ. Ποῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἢ πότε ὕβρικα, ὃς ἀεὶ φιλοσοφίαν τε θαυμάζων διατετέλεκα καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπερεπαινῶν καὶ τοῖς λόγοις οὓς καταλελοίπατε ὁμιλῶν; αὐτὰ γοῦν ἃ φημι ταῦτα, πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν λαβὼν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μέλιτταν ἀπανθισάμενος ἐπιδείκνυμαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; οἱ δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ γνωρίζουσιν ἕκαστον τὸ ἄνθος ὅθεν καὶ παρ᾽ ὅτου καὶ ὅπως ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν ἐμὲ ζηλοῦσι τῆς ἀνθολογίας, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν λειμῶνα τὸν ὑμέτερον, οἳ τοιαῦτα ἐξηνθήκατε ποικίλα καὶ πολυειδῆ τὰς βαφάς, εἴ τις ἀναλέξασθαί τε αὐτὰ ἐπίσταιτο καὶ ἀναπλέξαι

present, see Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 262, GMT. 60. Cf. § 39 *προσεκύνησα*. — **λάινον ἕσσο . . .**: *Il.* 3, 57 (in *Il.* *ἕσσο* is plpf. with *κέν* in v. 56, here it is imv. pf.):

Frock'd you shall be in a tunic of stone for your wicked behavior.

6. κατὰ τὴν μέλιτταν ἀπανθισάμενος . . . λειμῶνα: for the figure of the bee and the meadow cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 73–81:

οὔτ᾽ ἦλθέ πω σίδηρος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκήρατον
μέλισσα λειμῶν᾽ ἐαρινὸν διέρχεται.

This whole passage is Lucian's elaborate self-justification for his Atticizing art. Cf. Introd. p. xv. — **οἳ τοιαῦτα ἐξηνθήκατε**: the verb is construed here

καὶ ἁρμόσαι, ὡς μὴ ἀπᾴδειν θάτερον θατέρου. ἔσθ᾿ ὅστις οὖν ταῦτα εὖ πεπονθὼς παρ᾿ ὑμῶν κακῶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν εὐεργέτας ἄνδρας, ἀφ᾿ ὧν ἤδη τις εἶναι ἔδοξεν; ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Θάμυριν ἢ τὸν Εὔρυτον εἴη τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ταῖς Μούσαις ἀντᾴδειν, παρ᾿ ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν ᾠδήν, ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐριδαίνειν ἐναντία τοξεύων, καὶ ταῦτα δοτῆρι ὄντι τῆς τοξικῆς.

7 ΠΛΑΤ. Τοῦτο μέν, ὦ γενναῖε, κατὰ τοὺς ῥήτορας εἴρηταί σοι· ἐναντιώτατον δ᾿ οὖν ἐστί σοι τῷ πράγματι καὶ χαλεπωτέραν σου ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν τόλμαν, εἴ γε τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ ἀχαριστίᾳ πρόσεστιν, ὃς παρ᾿ ἡμῶν τὰ τοξεύματα, ὡς φῄς, λαβὼν καθ᾿ ἡμῶν ἐτόξευες, ἕνα τοῦτον ὑποθέμενος τὸν σκοπόν, ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς ἀγορεύειν κακῶς· τοιαῦτα παρὰ σοῦ ἀπειλήφαμεν ἀνθ᾿ ὧν σοι τὸν λειμῶνα ἐκεῖνον ἀναπετάσαντες οὐκ ἐκωλύσαμεν δρέπεσθαι καὶ τὸ προκόλπιον ἐμπλησάμενον ἀπελθεῖν· ὥστε διά γε τοῦτο δίκαιος εἶ ἀποθανεῖν.

8 ΛΟΥΚ. Ὁρᾶτε; πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούετε καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων προσίεσθε. καίτοι οὐκ ἂν ᾠήθην ποτὲ ὡς ὀργὴ Πλάτωνος ἢ Χρυσίππου ἢ Ἀριστοτέλους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῶν καθίκοιτο ἄν, ἀλλά μοι ἐδοκεῖτε μόνοι δὴ πόρρω εἶναι τοῦ τοιούτου. πλὴν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄκριτόν γε, ὦ θαυμάσιοι, μηδὲ πρὸ δίκης ἀποκτείνητέ με· ὑμέτερον γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, μὴ βίᾳ μηδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον πολιτεύεσθαι, δίκῃ δὲ τὰ διάφορα διαλύεσθαι διδόντας λόγον καὶ δεχομένους ἐν τῷ μέρει. ὥστε δικαστὴν ἑλόμενοι κατηγορήσατε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἅμα πάντες ἢ ὅντινα ἂν χειροτονήσητε ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογήσομαι πρὸς τὰ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἢν μὲν ἀδικῶν φαίνωμαι καὶ

with the cognate acc., but see note to *V.H.* B, 30.

7. **παρ᾿ ἡμῶν τὰ τοξεύματα**: cf. Aesch. *Fragm.* 139 (Sidgwick) where the wounded eagle says: *τάδ᾿ οὐχ ὑπ᾿ ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὑτῶν πτεροῖς ἁλισκόμεσθα*, and Aesop *Fab.* 4 *καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἑτέρα λύπη, τὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις πτεροῖς ἐναποθνῄσκειν*. The same thought in *Bis Acc.* 29 *ἀγνῶμον γὰρ ἐπ᾿ ἐμὲ τὴν ἐμὴν μάχαιραν ἀκονᾶν.*

τοῦτο περὶ ἐμοῦ γνῷ τὸ δικαστήριον, ὑφέξω δηλαδὴ τὴν ἀξίαν. ὑμεῖς δὲ βίαιον οὐδὲν τολμήσετε· ἢν δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑποσχὼν καθαρὸς ὑμῖν καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος εὑρίσκωμαι, ἀφήσουσί με οἱ δικασταί, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας ὑμᾶς καὶ παροξύναντας καθ᾽ ἡμῶν τὴν ὀργὴν τρέψατε.

9 ΠΛΑΤ. Τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνο. ἐς πεδίον τὸν ἵππον, ὡς παρακρουσάμενος τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπέλθῃς· φασὶ γοῦν ῥήτορά σε καὶ δικανικόν τινα εἶναι καὶ πανοῦργον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. τίνα δὲ καὶ δικαστὴν ἐθέλεις γενέσθαι, ὅντινα μὴ σὺ δωροδοκήσας, οἷα πολλὰ ποιεῖτε, ἄδικα πείσεις ὑπὲρ σοῦ ψηφίσασθαι;

ΛΟΥΚ. Θαρρεῖτε τούτου γε ἕνεκα· οὐδένα τοιοῦτον διαιτητὴν ὕποπτον ἢ ἀμφίβολον ἀξιώσαιμ᾽ ἂν γενέσθαι καὶ ὅστις ἀποδώσεταί μοι τὴν ψῆφον. ὁρᾶτε γοῦν, τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν δικάστριαν ποιοῦμαι ἔγωγε.

ΠΛΑΤ. Καὶ τίς ἂν κατηγορήσειεν, εἴ γε ἡμεῖς δικάσομεν;

ΛΟΥΚ. Οἱ αὐτοὶ κατηγορεῖτε καὶ δικάζετε· οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦτο δέδια. τοσοῦτον ὑπερφέρω τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἀπολογήσεσθαι ὑπολαμβάνω.

10 ΠΛΑΤ. Τί ποιῶμεν, ὦ Πυθαγόρα καὶ Σώκρατες; ἔοικε γὰρ οὐκ ἄλογα ὁ ἀνὴρ προκαλεῖσθαι, δικάζεσθαι ἀξιῶν.

ΣΩΚ. Τί δ᾽ ἄλλο ἢ βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν παραλαβόντες ἀκούσωμεν ὅ τι καὶ ἀπολογήσεται; τὸ πρὸ δίκης γὰρ οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἀλλὰ δεινῶς ἰδιωτικόν, ὀργίλων τινῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῇ

9. **Τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνο**: *there's that old dodge again!* — **ἐς πεδίον τὸν ἵππον**: sc. *προκαλεῖσθαι*. And so of the horseman in Plato *Theaet.* 183 D *ἱππέας εἰς πεδίον προκαλεῖ Σωκράτη εἰς λόγους προκαλούμενος.* For the thought cf. Uncle Remus's *Br'er Rabbit:* "Bred and bawn in a brier patch!" — **τοσοῦτον . . . ἐκ περιουσίας**: *from such a surplus.*

10. **τὸ πρὸ δίκης γάρ**: *for this prejudicating way* is not our style; or sc. *ἀποκτείνειν*, and cf. § 15 *πρὸ δίκης . . . ἀποκτενεῖτε*; — **δεινῶς ἰδιωτικόν**: *awfully unprofessional*, i.e. out of character for

χειρὶ τιθεμένων. παρέξομεν οὖν ἀφορμὰς τοῖς κακηγορεῖν ἐθέλουσι καταλεύσαντες ἄνδρα μηδὲ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα δικαιοσύνῃ χαίρειν αὐτοὶ λέγοντες. ἢ τί ἂν εἴποιμεν Ἀνύτου πέρι καὶ Μελήτου, τῶν ἐμοῦ κατηγορησάντων, ἢ τῶν τότε δικαστῶν, εἰ οὗτος τεθνήξεται μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν ὕδατος μεταλαβών;

ΠΛΑΤ. Ἄριστα παραινεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες· ὥστε ἀπίωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν. ἡ δὲ δικασάτω, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαπήσομεν οἷς ἂν ἐκείνη διαγνῷ.

11 ΛΟΥΚ. Εὖ γε, ὦ σοφώτατοι, ἀμείνῳ ταῦτα καὶ νομιμώτερα. τοὺς μέντοι λίθους φυλάττετε, ὡς ἔφην· δεήσει γὰρ αὐτῶν μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. ποῦ δὲ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν εὕροι τις ἄν; οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ἔνθα οἰκεῖ· καίτοι πολὺν ἐπλανήθην χρόνον ἀναζητῶν τὴν οἰκίαν, ὡς ξυγγενοίμην αὐτῇ. εἶτα ἐντυγχάνων ἄν τισι τριβώνια περιβεβλημένοις καὶ πώγωνας βαθεῖς καθειμένοις παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἥκειν φάσκουσιν, οἰόμενος εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς ἀνηρώτων· οἱ δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ ἀγνοοῦντες ἢ οὐδ᾽ ὅλως ἀπεκρίνοντό μοι, ὡς μὴ ἐλέγχοιντο οὐκ εἰδότες, ἢ ἄλλην θύραν ἀντ᾽ ἄλλης ἀπεδείκνυον. οὐδέπω γοῦν καὶ τήμερον ἐξευρεῖν δεδύνημαι τὴν
12 οἰκίαν. πολλάκις δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς εἰκάσας ἢ ξεναγήσαντός τινος ἧκον ἂν ἐπί τινας θύρας βεβαίως ἐλπίσας τότε γοῦν εὑρηκέναι, τεκμαιρόμενος τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐσιόντων τε καὶ ἐξιόντων, ἁπάντων σκυθρωπῶν καὶ τὰ σχήματα εὐσταλῶν καὶ φροντιστικῶν τὴν πρόσοψιν· μετὰ τούτων οὖν ξυμπαραβυσθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσῆλθον. εἶτα ἑώρων γύναιόν τι οὐχ ἁπλοϊκόν, εἰ

philosophers. — **μηδὲ . . . ὕδατος μεταλαβών**: i.e. without a hearing. Cf. the references to the κλεψύδρα e.g. Lys. 23, 11–15 ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ.

11. **ἂν . . . ἀνηρώτων**: G. 1296; H. 835; Gl. 461, *a*; B. 568. — **ἄλλην θύραν ἀντ᾽ ἄλλης**: *door after door*. Cf. S. John 1, 16 χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος and (perhaps) Theognis 344 (249) ἀντ᾽ ἀνιῶν ἀνίας, *grief upon grief*. This meaning is also found with πρό, e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 325 γῆν πρὸ γῆς, *land after land*.

καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐς τὸ ἀφελὲς καὶ ἀκόσμητον ἑαυτὴν ἐρρύθμιζεν. ἀλλὰ κατεφάνη μοι αὐτίκα οὐδὲ τὸ ἄνετον δοκοῦν τῆς κόμης ἀκαλλώπιστον ἐῶσα οὐδὲ τοῦ ἱματίου τὴν ἀναβολὴν ἀνεπιτηδεύτως περιστέλλουσα· πρόδηλος δὲ ἦν κοσμουμένη αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν τῷ ἀθεραπεύτῳ δοκοῦντι προσχρωμένη. ὑπεφαίνετο δέ τι καὶ ψιμύθιον καὶ φῦκος καὶ τὰ ῥήματα πάντα ἑταιρικά· καὶ ἐπαινουμένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἐς κάλλος ἔχαιρε, καὶ εἰ δοίη τις, προχείρως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τοὺς πλουσιωτέρους ἂν παρακαθισαμένη πλησίον τοὺς πένητας τῶν ἐραστῶν οὐδὲ προσέβλεπεν. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γυμνωθείσης αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκούσιον ἑώρων περιδέραια χρυσᾶ τῶν κλοιῶν παχύτερα. ἐπὶ πόδα οὖν εὐθὺς ἀνέστρεφον οἰκτίρας δηλαδὴ τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἐκείνους οὐ τῆς ῥινός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πώγωνος ἑλκομένους πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰξίονα εἰδώλῳ ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας ξυνόντας.

13 ΠΛΑΤ. Τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρόδηλος οὐδὲ πᾶσι γνώριμος ἡ θύρα. πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δεήσει βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ὑπομενοῦμεν αὐτήν. ἣ δὲ ἤδη που ἀφίξεται ἐπανιοῦσα ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας, ὡς περιπατήσειε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁσημέραι ποιεῖν ἔθος αὐτῇ· μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη προσέρχεται. ὁρᾷς τὴν

12. **τὸ ἄνετον δοκοῦν**: *what seemed her simplicity.* Cf. l. 176. — **ἑταιρικά**: *coquettish.* — **τῶν ἐραστῶν** (l. 181): for case see Introd. 31. — **κατὰ τὸ ἀκούσιον**: *as though accidentally.* *κατά* = *à la*; cf. below, *κατὰ τὸν Ἰξίονα*, *like Ixion.*

13. **ἐν Κεραμεικῷ**: the "potters' quarter" was divided by the wall of Themistocles into the outer and the inner Cerameicus. See map of Athens. Here the inner Cerameicus is meant. Philosophy, coming from the Academy by the most northerly of the three roads which converge at the Dipylon, would pass in by the gate and so on (by the site of the present Piraeus railroad station) through the Cerameicus to the Poecile Stoa. Cf. *Jupp. Trag.* 15, 16 where Zeus came up from Piraeus (and so reached the gate by the most southerly of the three roads) to take his evening constitutional (*ὡς περιπατήσαιμι τὸ δείλινον ἐν Κεραμεικῷ*) in the Cerameicus, and, deep in thought, came opposite the Poecile (*κατὰ τὴν Ποικίλην*). — **ὡς περιπατήσειε**: for opt.

κόσμιον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, τὴν προσηνῆ τὸ βλέμμα, τὴν ἐπὶ συννοίας ἠρέμα βαδίζουσαν;

ΛΟΥΚ. Πολλὰς ὁμοίας ὁρῶ τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸ βάδισμα καὶ τὴν ἀναβολήν. καίτοι μία πάντως ἥ γε ἀληθὴς Φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐν αὐταῖς.

ΠΛΑΤ. Εὖ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ δηλώσει ἥτις ἐστὶ φθεγξαμένη μόνον.

14 ΦΙΛ. Παπαῖ· τί Πλάτων καὶ Χρύσιππος ἄνω καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ κεφάλαιά μου τῶν μαθημάτων; τί αὖθις ἐς τὸν βίον; ἆρά τι ὑμᾶς ἐλύπει τῶν κάτω; ὀργιζομένοις γοῦν ἐοίκατε. καὶ τίνα τοῦτον ξυλλαβόντες ἄγετε; ἦ που τυμβωρύχος τις ἢ ἀνδροφόνος ἢ ἱερόσυλός ἐστι;

ΠΛΑΤ. Νὴ Δί', ὦ Φιλοσοφία, πάντων γε ἱεροσύλων ἀσεβέστατος, ὃς τὴν ἱερωτάτην σὲ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας, ὁπόσοι τι παρὰ σοῦ μαθόντες τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς καταλελοίπαμεν.

ΦΙΛ. Εἶτα ἠγανακτήσατε λοιδορησαμένου τινός, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ἐμὲ οἷα πρὸς τῆς Κωμῳδίας ἀκούουσα ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ὅμως φίλην τε αὐτὴν ἥγημαι καὶ οὔτε ἐδικασάμην οὔτε ᾐτιασάμην προσελθοῦσα, ἐφίημι δὲ παίζειν τὰ εἰκότα καὶ τὰ ξυνήθη τῇ ἑορτῇ; οἶδα γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἄν τι ὑπὸ σκώμματος

after primary tense see Introd. 35. — **τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος**: *the one so well gotten-up*. Cf. perhaps Ar. *Pax* 241 and Introd. 30. See App. The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος recurs often, e.g. *D. Mort.* 10, 8; *Nigr.* 24. For use of prep. cf. Theocr. 16, 49 θῆλυν ἀπὸ χροιᾶς, *feminine, to judge by complexion.* — **φθεγξαμένη μόνον**: *the first syllable she utters.*

14. **αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια**: *the very leaders* (of the profession). Cf. *Philops.* 6 ὁρᾷς οἵους ἄνδρας σοί φημι, πανσόφους καὶ παναρέτους, ὅ τι περ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ ἐξ ἑκάστης προαιρέσεως; *d' ye see what sort of men I'm telling you of, regular experts and perfect saints — in fact the very cream of the different schools?* The same in *Symp.* 10, but see note to *Vit. Auct.* 18. — **οἷα . . . ἀκούουσα**: *whatall Comedy calls me!* For ἀκούειν used with εὖ, κακῶς, etc., or with cognate acc., as pass. of λέγειν, see L. & S. s.v., III, 1. Cf. ἠγόρευσε κακῶς § 15. — **οὐκ . . . ὑπὸ σκώμματος χεῖρον**: so Socrates

χεῖρον γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ καλόν, ὥσπερ τὸ χρυσίον ἀποσμώμενον τοῖς κόμμασι λαμπρότερον ἀποστίλβει καὶ φανερώτερον γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δ᾽ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ὀργίλοι καὶ ἀγανακτικοὶ γεγόνατε. τί δ᾽ οὖν αὐτὸν ἄγχετε;

ΠΛΑΤ. Μίαν ἡμέραν ταύτην παραιτησάμενοι ἥκομεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπόσχῃ τὴν ἀξίαν ὧν δέδρακε· φῆμαι γὰρ ἡμῖν διήγγελλον οἷα ἔλεγεν ἐπιὼν ἐς τὰ πλήθη καθ᾽ ἡμῶν.

15 ΦΙΛ. Εἶτα πρὸ δίκης οὐδὲ ἀπολογησάμενον ἀποκτενεῖτε; δῆλος γοῦν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν τι θέλων.

ΠΛΑΤ. Οὔκ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ σὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀνεβαλόμεθα. καὶ σοὶ ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ τέλος τῆς δίκης.

ΦΙΛ. Τί φῂς σύ;

ΛΟΥΚ. Τοῦτο αὐτό, ὦ δέσποινα Φιλοσοφία, ἥπερ καὶ μόνη τἀληθὲς ἂν εὑρεῖν δύναιο· μόγις γοῦν εὑρόμην πολλὰ ἱκετεύσας τὸ σοὶ φυλαχθῆναι τὴν δίκην.

ΠΛΑΤ. Νῦν, ὦ κατάρατε, δέσποιναν αὐτὴν καλεῖς; πρῴην δὲ τὸ ἀτιμότατον Φιλοσοφίαν ἀπέφαινες ἐν τοσούτῳ θεάτρῳ ἀποκηρύττων κατὰ μέρη δύ᾽ ὀβολῶν ἕκαστον εἶδος αὐτῆς τῶν λόγων.

ΦΙΛ. Ὁρᾶτε μὴ οὐ Φιλοσοφίαν οὗτός γε, ἀλλὰ γόητας ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ὀνόματι πολλὰ καὶ μιαρὰ πράττοντας ἠγόρευσε κακῶς.

ΠΛΑΤ. Εἴσῃ αὐτίκα, ἢν ἐθέλῃς ἀκούειν ἀπολογουμένου μόνον.

ΦΙΛ. Ἀπίωμεν ἐπ᾽ Ἄρειον πάγον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτήν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ περιωπῆς ἅμα καταφανῆ πάντα εἴη τὰ

seems to have felt no rancor towards Aristophanes on account of the *Clouds*. See Humphreys, Introd. to *Clouds*, § 10, note. — **διήγγελλον**: note voice. Φῆμαι, although pl., almost personified as in sing.

15. **εὑρόμην**: *I procured for myself.* — **ἐν τοσούτῳ θεάτρῳ**: *in the presence of such a crowd of spectators;* so § 36 fin. *by the house.* — **ὡς ἂν εἴη**: see Introd. 35 (*b*). — **ἐκ περιωπῆς**: see note to *Char.* 2.

16 ἐν τῇ πόλει. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ φίλαι, ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ τέως περιπατήσατε· ἥξω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκδικάσασα τὴν δίκην.

ΛΟΥΚ. Τίνες δέ εἰσιν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία; πάνυ γάρ μοι κόσμιαι καὶ αὗται δοκοῦσιν.

ΦΙΛ. Ἀρετὴ μὲν ἡ ἀνδρώδης αὕτη, Σωφροσύνη δὲ ἐκείνη καὶ Δικαιοσύνη ἡ παρ' αὐτήν. ἡ δὲ προηγουμένη Παιδεία, ἡ ἀμυδρὰ δὲ αὕτη καὶ ἀσαφὴς τὸ χρῶμα ἡ Ἀλήθειά ἐστιν.

ΛΟΥΚ. Οὐχ ὁρῶ ἥντινα καὶ λέγεις.

ΦΙΛ. Τὴν ἀκαλλώπιστον ἐκείνην οὐχ ὁρᾷς, τὴν γυμνήν, τὴν ὑποφεύγουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ διολισθάνουσαν;

ΛΟΥΚ. Ὁρῶ νῦν μόγις. ἀλλὰ τί οὐχὶ καὶ ταύτας ἄγεις, ὡς πλῆρες γένοιτο καὶ ἐντελὲς τὸ ξυνέδριον; τὴν Ἀλήθειαν δέ γε καὶ ξυνήγορον ἀναβιβάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν δίκην βούλομαι.

ΦΙΛ. Νὴ Δία, ἀκολουθήσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς· οὐ χαλεπὸν γὰρ μίαν δικάσαι δίκην, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσομένην.

17 ΑΛΗΘ. Ἄπιτε ὑμεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν δέομαι ἀκούειν ἃ πάλαι οἶδα ὁποῖά ἐστιν.

ΦΙΛ. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἀλήθεια, ἐν δέοντι ξυνδικάζοις ἄν, ὡς καὶ καταμηνύοις ἕκαστα.

ΑΛΗΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἐπάγωμαι καὶ τὼ θεραπαινιδίω τούτω συνοικοτάτω μοι ὄντε;

ΦΙΛ. Καὶ μάλα ὁπόσας ἂν ἐθέλῃς.

ΑΛΗΘ. Ἕπεσθον, ὦ Ἐλευθερία καὶ Παρρησία, μεθ' ἡμῶν, ὡς τὸν δείλαιον τουτονὶ ἀνθρωπίσκον, ἐραστὴν ἡμέτερον ὄντα, κινδυνεύοντα ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει δικαίᾳ, — ἄν γε σῶσαι δυνηθῶμεν· σὺ δέ, ὦ Ἔλεγχε, αὐτοῦ περίμενε.

ΛΟΥΚ. Μηδαμῶς, ὦ δέσποινα, ἡκέτω δὲ καὶ οὗτος, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τυχοῦσι θηρίοις προσπολεμῆσαι

16. **ἡ δὲ προηγουμένη Παιδεία**: *the one in front is Culture.* — **ὡς . . . γένοιτο**: see Introd. 35 (*a*).

17. **ὡς . . . δικαίᾳ, —**: *ὡς* is final; sc. *σώσωμεν* or another *σῶσαι δυνηθῶμεν*. See App. — **τὸν δείλαιον τουτονὶ**

δεήσει με. ἀλλ᾽ ἀλαζόσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δυσελέγκτοις, ἀεί τινας ἀποφυγὰς εὑρισκομένοις, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖος ὁ Ἔλεγχος.

ΦΙΛ. Ἀναγκαιότατος μὲν οὖν· ἄμεινον δέ, εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἀπόδειξιν παραλάβοις.

ΑΛΗΘ. Ἕπεσθε πάντες, ἐπείπερ ἀναγκαιότατοι δοκεῖτε πρὸς τὴν δίκην.

18 ΑΡΙΣΤ. Ὁρᾷς; προσεταιρίζεται καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία,
τὴν Ἀλήθειαν.

ΦΙΛ. Εἶτα δέδιτε, ὦ Πλάτων καὶ Χρύσιππε καὶ Ἀριστότελες, μή τι ψεύσηται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀλήθεια οὖσα;

ΠΛΑΤ. Οὐ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ δεινῶς πανοῦργός ἐστι καὶ κολακικός· ὥστε παραπείσει αὐτήν.

ΦΙΛ. Θαρρεῖτε· οὐδὲν μὴ γένηται ἄδικον, Δικαιοσύνης
19 ταύτης ξυμπαρούσης. ἀνίωμεν οὖν. ἀλλὰ εἰπέ μοι σύ, τί σοι
τοὔνομα;

ΛΟΥΚ. Ἐμοὶ Παρρησιάδης Ἀληθίωνος τοῦ Ἐλεγξικλέους.

ΦΙΛ. Πατρὶς δέ;

ΛΟΥΚ. Σύρος, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, τῶν Ἐπευφρατιδίων. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; καὶ γὰρ τούτων τινὰς οἶδα τῶν ἀντιδίκων οὐχ ἧττον ἐμοῦ βαρβάρους τὸ γένος· ὁ τρόπος δὲ καὶ ἡ παιδεία οὐ κατὰ Σολέας ἢ Κυπρίους ἢ Βαβυλωνίους ἢ Σταγειρίτας. καίτοι πρός γε σὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ἔλαττον γένοιτο οὐδ᾽ εἰ τὴν φωνὴν βάρβαρος εἴη τις, εἴπερ ἡ γνώμη ὀρθὴ καὶ δικαία φαίνοιτο οὖσα.

ἀνθρωπίσκον: *this poor dear fellow*. Cf. *τὼ θεραπαινιδίω* for this diminutive of affection.—**ὁ Ἔλεγχος**: *Confutation*.—**τὴν Ἀπόδειξιν**: *Demonstration*.

19. Ἐμοί: note the emphatic repetition from *σοι*, cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 625.—**Παρρησιάδης** *κτλ.*: *I am Freespeaker, son of Truth the son of Confutation.*—**Σύρος**: see Introd. 3.—**οὐ κατὰ Σολέας** *κτλ.*: the Stoic Chrysippus came from Soli in Cilicia (see note on *Vit. Auct.* 20, and for the derivation of *solecism* see note on *Vit. Auct.* 23); Zeno the Stoic from Cyprus; Diogenes the Stoic (not the Cynic) from Seleucia on the Tigris, hence "Babylonian"; and Aristotle from Stageira in Macedonia. Lucian hints that the stones thrown (§ 1) by the philosophers might endanger their own glass houses.

20 ΦΙΛ. Εὖ λέγεις· ἄλλως γοῦν τοῦτο ἠρόμην. ἡ τέχνη δέ σοι τίς; ἄξιον γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι τοῦτό γε.

ΛΟΥΚ. Μισαλαζών εἰμι καὶ μισογόης καὶ μισοψευδὴς καὶ μισότυφος καὶ μισῶ πᾶν τὸ τοιουτῶδες τῶν μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων· πάνυ δὲ πολλοί εἰσιν, ὡς οἶσθα.

ΦΙΛ. Ἡράκλεις, πολυμισῆ τινα μέτει τὴν τέχνην.

ΛΟΥΚ. Εὖ λέγεις· ὁρᾷς γοῦν ὁπόσοις ἀπεχθάνομαι καὶ ὡς κινδυνεύω δι' αὐτήν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς οἶδα, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλῶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσαν· φιλαλήθης τε γὰρ καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλαπλοϊκὸς καὶ ὅσα τῷ φιλεῖσθαι ξυγγενῆ· πλὴν ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πάνυ ταύτης ἄξιοι τῆς τέχνης. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ ἐναντίᾳ ταττόμενοι καὶ τῷ μίσει οἰκειότεροι πεντακισμύριοι. κινδυνεύω τοιγαροῦν τὴν μὲν ὑπ' ἀργίας ἀπομαθεῖν ἤδη, τὴν δὲ πάνυ ἠκριβωκέναι.

ΦΙΛ. Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐχρῆν· τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τάδε, φασί, καὶ τάδε· ὥστε μὴ διαίρει τὼ τέχνα· μία γὰρ ἐστὸν δύ' εἶναι δοκοῦσαι.

ΛΟΥΚ. Ἄμεινον σὺ ταῦτα οἶσθα, ὦ Φιλοσοφία. τὸ μέντοι ἐμὸν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, οἷον τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς μισεῖν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς καὶ φιλεῖν.

21 ΦΙΛ. Ἄγε δή, πάρεσμεν γὰρ ἔνθα ἐχρῆν· ἐνταῦθά που ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Πολιάδος δικάσωμεν. ἡ Ἱέρεια διάθες ἡμῖν τὰ βάθρα, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ προσκυνήσωμεν τὴν θεόν.

20. ἄλλως: *heedlessly.* Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 85 ἄλλως φλυαρεῖτε, *you're talking random nonsense.* — **φιλῶ**: cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 77 ff. ἀλλὰ φιλο μέν ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κακοῦ. See App. — **πάνυ ἠκριβωκέναι**: *to be a perfect connoisseur in.*

21. τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Πολιάδος: the pronaos of the east front of the Parthenon seems to be referred to. There Parrhesiades makes his prayer to the goddess, i.e. the great chryselephantine statue of Athena within the Parthenon (see, however, note on ἐπίσκοπος below), while the priestess is arranging the benches; and later, § 39, offers his thanksgiving to the winged Nike on Athena's outstretched hand. See Harrison & Verrall, *Mythol. and Monuments of Anc. Athens*, p. 464, for a discussion of this passage and certain inferences drawn from it. — **ἡ Ἱέρεια**: here "the nominative with the article

ΛΟΥΚ. Ὦ Πολιάς, ἐλθέ μοι κατὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων σύμμαχος ἀναμνησθεῖσα ὁπόσα ἐπιορκούντων ὁσημέραι ἀκούεις αὐτῶν· καὶ ἃ πράττουσι δὲ μόνη ὁρᾷς ἅτε δὴ ἐπίσκοπος οὖσα. νῦν καιρὸς ἀμύνασθαι αὐτούς. ἐμὲ δὲ ἤν που κρατούμενον ἴδῃς καὶ πλείους ὦσιν αἱ μέλαιναι, σὺ προσθεῖσα τὴν σαυτῆς σῷζέ με.

22 ΦΙΛ. Εἶεν· ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ δὴ καθήμεθα ἕτοιμοι ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, ὑμεῖς δὲ προελόμενοί τινα ἐξ ἁπάντων, ὅστις ἄριστα κατηγορήσειν δοκεῖ, ξυνείρετε τὴν κατηγορίαν καὶ διελέγχετε· πάντας γὰρ ἅμα λέγειν ἀμήχανον. σὺ δέ, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, ἀπολογήσῃ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο.

ΧΡΥΣ. Τίς οὖν ἂν ἐπιτηδειότατος ἐξ ἡμῶν γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν δίκην; σύ, ὦ Πλάτων. ἥ τε γὰρ μεγαλόνοια θαυμαστὴ καὶ ἡ καλλιφωνία δεινῶς Ἀττικὴ καὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ πειθοῦς μεστὸν ἥ τε ξύνεσις καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἐν καιρῷ τῶν ἀποδείξεων, πάντα ταῦτά σοι ἀθρόα πρόσεστιν· ὥστε τὴν προηγορίαν δέχου καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων εἰπὲ τὰ εἰκότα. νῦν ἀναμνήσθητι πάντων ἐκείνων καὶ ξυμφόρει ἐς τὸ αὐτό, εἴ τί σοι πρὸς Γοργίαν ἢ Πῶλον ἢ Ἱππίαν ἢ Πρόδικον εἴρηται·

is . . . in apposition with an . . . unexpressed vocative which is identical with the subject of the verb." Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 13. Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 521 ὁ παῖς, ἀκολούθει δεῦρο. — **ἐπίσκοπος**: this might seem inconsistent with the assumption just made, and might seem to refer to the great bronze statue, the so-called Athena Promachos, standing in the open air northwest of the Parthenon, and not visible from the pronaos on the east; but Solon had made this almost an official epithet of their patron saint in his Ὑποθῆκαι εἰς Ἀθηναίους 3:

τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει.

— **αἱ μέλαιναι** (sc. ψῆφοι): instead of the usual αἱ τετρυπημέναι. — **προσθεῖσα τὴν σαυτῆς**: a tie vote only was necessary for acquittal. The deciding ballot cast by Athena at the trial of Orestes (Aesch. *Eum.* 734 ff.) became proverbial. In *Harmon.* 3 Lucian calls it simply τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. As no "repeating" was allowed, Athena's sphere of usefulness was limited.

22. διελέγχετε: *make good your proof.* — **Πλάτων**: this passage is not without value as a summary of the characteristics of the Platonic dialogues. Note that Protagoras is not mentioned with the other sophists. —

δεινότερος οὗτός ἐστιν. ἐπίπαττε οὖν καὶ τῆς εἰρωνείας καὶ τὰ κομψὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ συνεχῆ ἐρώτα, κἂν σοι δοκῇ, κἀκεῖνό που παράβυσον, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων ἀγανακτήσειεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ οὗτος ὑπόσχοι τὴν δίκην.

23 ΠΛΑΤ. Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλά τινα τῶν σφοδροτέρων προχειρισώμεθα, Διογένην τοῦτον ἢ Ἀντισθένην ἢ Κράτητα ἢ καὶ σέ, ὦ Χρύσιππε· οὐ γὰρ δὴ κάλλους ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ δεινότητος συγγραφικῆς ὁ καιρός, ἀλλά τινος ἐλεγκτικῆς καὶ δικανικῆς παρασκευῆς· ῥήτωρ δὲ ὁ Παρρησιάδης ἐστίν.

ΔΙΟΓ. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πάνυ μακρῶν οἴομαι τῶν λόγων δεῖσθαι. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ὕβρισμαι δυ' ὀβολῶν πρῴην ἀποκεκηρυγμένος.

ΠΛΑΤ. Ὁ Διογένης, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, ἐρεῖ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων. μέμνησο δέ, ὦ γενναῖε, μὴ τὰ σεαυτοῦ μόνον πρεσβεύειν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ, τὰ κοινὰ δὲ ὁρᾶν· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόμεθα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, σὺ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ἐξέταζε, μηδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθέστερος νῦν λέγε, ὅλως δὲ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῆς ἀγανάκτει περιυβρισμένης καὶ κακῶς ἀκουούσης ἐν τοῖς Παρρησιάδου λόγοις, καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις ἀφεὶς ἐν αἷς διαλλάττομεν, ὃ κοινὸν ἅπαντες ἔχομεν, τοῦτο ὑπερμάχει. ὁρᾷς; σὲ μόνον προεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐν σοὶ τὰ πάντων ἡμῶν νῦν κινδυνεύεται, ἢ σεμνότατα δόξαι ἢ τοιαῦτα πιστευθῆναι οἷα οὗτος ἀπέφηνε.

κἂν . . . παράβυσον: *and, if you think best, also stuff in somewhere that famous passage.* — **ὡς ὁ μέγας** κτλ.: this passage of Plato's occurs *Phaedr.* 246 E. Lucian refers to it *Rhet. Praec.* 26, and in *Bis Acc.* 33 Dialogus shows just how to "work it in."

23. σὺ δὲ τοῦτο: this use of δέ is especially Homeric, but was occasionally used also by Herodotus and Attic writers, e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 5, 5, 21 ἀλλ' εἰ μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἔφη, βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τοὐντεῦθεν λέγε. Cf. Kühner-Blass II, § 516, 5. — **προαιρέσεις**: see note on *Vit. Auct.* 1. — **τοῦτο ὑπερμάχει**: the Mss. and scholiast agree in giving τοῦτο. The gen. is the usual construction.

24 ΔΙΟΓ. Θαρρεῖτε. οὐδὲν ἐλλείψομεν, ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἐρῶ. κἂν ἡ Φιλοσοφία δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐπικλασθεῖσα—φύσει γὰρ ἥμερος καὶ πρᾶός ἐστιν—ἀφεῖναι διαβουλεύηται αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τἀμὰ ἐνδεήσει· δείξω γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι μὴ μάτην ξυλοφοροῦμεν.

ΦΙΛ. Τοῦτο μὲν μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον—ἄμεινον γὰρ—ἤπερ τῷ ξύλῳ. μὴ μέλλε δ' οὖν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐκκέχυται τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸ δικαστήριον ἀποβλέπει.

ΛΟΥΚ. Οἱ λοιποὶ καθιζέσθωσαν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καὶ ψηφοφορείτωσαν μεθ' ὑμῶν, Διογένης δὲ κατηγορείτω μόνος.

ΦΙΛ. Οὐ δέδιας οὖν μή σου καταψηφίσωνται;

ΛΟΥΚ. Οὐδαμῶς· πλείοσι γοῦν κρατῆσαι βούλομαι.

ΦΙΛ. Γενναῖά σου ταῦτα· καθίσατε δ' οὖν. σὺ δ', ὦ Διόγενες, λέγε.

25 ΔΙΟΓ. Οἷοι μὲν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρες ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ τὸν βίον, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, πάνυ ἀκριβῶς οἶσθα καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖ λόγων· ἵνα γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ σιωπήσω, ἀλλὰ Πυθαγόραν τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅσα ἐς τὸν βίον καλὰ ἐσεκομίσαντο; ἃ δὲ τοιούτους ὄντας ἡμᾶς ὁ τρισκατάρατος οὗτος Παρρησιάδης ὕβρικεν, ἤδη ἐρῶ· ῥήτωρ γάρ τις, ὥς φησιν, ὤν, ἀπολιπὼν τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις εὐδοκιμήσεις, ὁπόσον ἢ

24. **ὅτι μή**: Introd. 39 (*b*). — **μάτην ξυλοφοροῦμεν**: the compound verb is a mocking reminder of δορυφορῶ. Compounds ending in φορῶ, however, became frequent. Cf. ψηφοφορείτωσαν, five lines below, ἀσπιδοφορῶ, etc. That the English translation recalls Romans 13, 4, is purely accidental: the Greek there (οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ) neither uses μαχαιροφορῶ (with Josephus) nor anticipates ξιφοφορῶ (with Herodian). — **Γενναῖά σου ταῦτα**: *that's handsome of you.* Cf. *D. Mort.* 10, 13 γεννάδας εἶ, ὦ Μένιππε, *you're game, Menippus!*

25. **ΔΙΟΓ.**: Diogenes's speech is short, one third as long as the defendant's. After the usual complaints, couched in conventional law-court phrases, he concludes with the abruptness of a speaker sure of his case. He is still more abrupt in *Bis Acc.* 24. — **ἀπολιπὼν τὰ δικαστήρια**: with the autobiographic details in this passage

δεινότητος ἢ ἀκμῆς ἐπεπόριστο ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, τοῦτο πᾶν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς συσκευασάμενος οὐ παύεται μὲν ἀγορεύων κακῶς γόητας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ἀποκαλῶν, τὰ πλήθη δὲ ἀναπείθων καταγελᾶν ἡμῶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν ὡς τὸ μηδὲν ὄντων· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μισεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἤδη πεποίηκεν αὐτούς τε ἡμᾶς καὶ σὲ τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν, φληνάφους καὶ λήρους ἀποκαλῶν τὰ σὰ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότατα ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσας ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ διεξιών, ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν κροτεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν θεατῶν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ὑβρίζεσθαι· φύσει γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὁ πολὺς λεώς· χαίρουσι τοῖς ἀποσκώπτουσι καὶ λοιδορουμένοις, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅταν τὰ σεμνότατα εἶναι δοκοῦντα διασύρηται, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πάλαι ἔχαιρον Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ Εὐπόλιδι Σωκράτην τουτονὶ ἐπὶ χλευασίᾳ παράγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ κωμῳδοῦσιν ἀλλοκότους τινὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ κωμῳδίας. καίτοι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐτόλμων τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν Διονύσου, ἐφειμένον αὐτὸ δρᾶν, καὶ τὸ σκῶμμα μέρος ἐδόκει τῆς ἑορτῆς, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως χαίρει φιλόγελώς τις ὤν.

26 ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους συγκαλῶν, ἐκ πολλοῦ φροντίσας καὶ παρασκευασάμενος καὶ βλασφημίας τινὰς ἐς παχὺ βιβλίον ἐγγράψας μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἀγορεύει κακῶς Πλάτωνα, Πυθαγόραν, Ἀριστοτέλην, Χρύσιππον ἐκεῖνον, ἐμὲ καὶ ὅλως ἅπαντας οὔτε ἑορτῆς ἐφιείσης οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τι πρὸς ἡμῶν παθών· εἶχε γὰρ ἄν τι συγγνώμην αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἀμυνόμενος ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄρχων αὐτὸς ἔδρασε. καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι ταῦτα ποιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, ὑποδύεται καὶ ὑπελθὼν τὸν Διάλογον ἡμέτερον οἰκεῖον ὄντα, τούτῳ

cf. Introd., p. x f. — **δεινότητος**: *cleverness.* An especial characteristic of Demosthenes. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote a treatise Περὶ τῆς δεινότητος Δημοσθένους. — **ἀκμῆς**: *vigor.* — **ἐπεπόριστο**: *had stored up.* For tense see Introd. 34 (*a*). — **τὸ μηδέν**: *naught.* Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1187 ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ. — **ἐν Διονύσου**: sc. θεάτρῳ. — **ἐφειμένον**: acc. abs. G. 1569; H. 973; Gl. 591; B. 658.

26. **ἐφιείσης**: *licensing.* ἐπιούσης (the

ξυναγωνιστῇ καὶ ὑποκριτῇ χρῆται καθ' ἡμῶν, ἔτι καὶ Μένιππον ἀναπείσας ἑταῖρον ἡμῶν ἄνδρα ξυγκωμῳδεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ πολλά, ὃς μόνος οὐ πάρεστιν οὐδὲ κατηγορεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν,
27 προδοὺς τὸ κοινόν. ἀνθ' ὧν ἁπάντων ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὑποσχεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν δίκην. ἢ τί γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τὰ σεμνότατα διασύρας ἐπὶ τοσούτων μαρτύρων; χρήσιμον γοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ θεάσαιντο αὐτὸν κολασθέντα, ὡς μηδὲ ἄλλος τις ἔτι καταφρονοίη φιλοσοφίας· ἐπεὶ τό γε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ ὑβριζόμενον ἀνέχεσθαι οὐ μετριότητος, ἀλλ' ἀνανδρίας καὶ εὐηθείας εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο. τὰ γὰρ τελευταῖα τίνι φορητά; ὃς καθάπερ τὰ ἀνδράποδα παραγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πωλητήριον καὶ κήρυκα ἐπιστήσας ἀπημπόλησεν. ὥς φασι, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῷ, ἐνίους δὲ μνᾶς Ἀττικῆς, ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παμπονηρότατος οὗτος δύ' ὀβολῶν· οἱ παρόντες δὲ ἐγέλων. ἀνθ' ὧν γε αὐτοί τε ἀνεληλύθαμεν ἀγανακτήσαντες καὶ σὲ ἀξιοῦμεν τιμωρήσειν ἡμῖν τὰ ἔσχατα ὑβρισμένοις.

28 ΑΝΑΒ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Διόγενες, ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων καλῶς καὶ ὁπόσα ἐχρῆν ἅπαντα εἴρηκας.

ΦΙΛ. Παύσασθε ἐπαινοῦντες· ἔγχει τῷ ἀπολογουμένῳ. σὺ δέ, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, λέγε ἤδη ἐν τῷ μέρει· σοὶ γὰρ τὸ νῦν ῥεῖ. μὴ μέλλε οὖν.

29 ΠΑΡΡ. Οὐ πάντα μου, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, κατηγόρησε Διογένης, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλείω καὶ ὅσα ἦν χαλεπώτερα οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι παθὼν παρέλιπεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ἔξαρνος γενέσθαι ὡς οὐκ εἶπον αὐτά, ἢ ἀπολογίαν τινὰ μεμελετηκὼς ἀφῖχθαι, ὥστε καὶ εἴ τινα ἢ οὗτος ἀπεσιώπησεν ἢ ἐγὼ μὴ πρότερον ἔφθασα εἰρηκώς, νῦν προσθήσειν μοι δοκῶ· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν

common reading) would mean *coming on*. See App. — **Διάλογον**: see Introd., p. xi. — **Μένιππον**: see *D. Mort.* p. 189.

27. ὡς . . . καταφρονοίη: optative by assimilation although in primary sequence, i.e. χρήσιμον . . . sc. ἂν εἴη. See GMT. 180, II (*b*) and 176, B.

28. Παύσασθε ἐπαινοῦντες: *silence in the Court!* — **ἔγχει**: see Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Horologium."

μάθοις οὕστινας ἀπεκήρυττον καὶ κακῶς ἠγόρευον ἀλαζόνας καὶ γόητας ἀποκαλῶν· καί μοι μόνον τοῦτο παραφυλάττετε, εἰ ἀληθῆ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρῶ. εἰ δέ τι βλάσφημον ἢ τραχὺ φαίνοιτο ἔχων ὁ λόγος, οὐ τὸν διελέγχοντα ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἄν, οἶμαι, δικαιότερον αἰτιάσαισθε τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ξυνεῖδον ὁπόσα τοῖς ῥητορεύουσι τὰ δυσχερῆ ἀναγκαῖον προσεῖναι, ἀπάτην καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ θρασύτητα καὶ βοὴν καὶ ὠθισμοὺς καὶ μυρία ἄλλα, ταῦτα μέν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀπέφυγον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ σά, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καλὰ ὁρμήσας ἠξίουν ὁπόσον ἔτι μοι λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καθάπερ ἐκ ζάλης καὶ κλύδωνος ἐς εὔδιόν τινα λιμένα σπεύσας ὑπὸ σοὶ σκεπόμενος
30 καταβιῶναι. κἀπειδὴ μόνον παρέκυψα ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα, σὲ μέν, ὥσπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, καὶ τούσδε ἅπαντας ἐθαύμαζον ἀρίστου βίου νομοθέτας ὄντας καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπειγομένοις χεῖρα ὀρέγοντας, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ξυμφορώτατα παραινοῦντας, εἴ τις μὴ παραβαίνοι αὐτὰ μηδὲ διολισθάνοι, ἀλλ' ἀτενὲς ἀποβλέπων ἐς τοὺς κανόνας οὓς προτεθείκατε, πρὸς τούτους ῥυθμίζοι καὶ ἀπευθύνοι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, ὅπερ νὴ Δία καὶ τῶν
31 καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀλίγοι ποιοῦσιν. ὁρῶν δὲ πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔρωτι φιλοσοφίας ἐχομένους, ἀλλὰ δόξης μόνον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἐφιεμένους, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρόχειρα ταῦτα καὶ δημόσια καὶ ὁπόσα παντὶ μιμεῖσθαι ῥᾴδιον εὖ μάλα ἐοικότας

29. **ἀπεκήρυττον**: *I offered at auction.* No sale was *effected* in the case of three philosophers. Cf. *Vit. Auct.* 12 and 14. — **καθάπερ ἐκ ζάλης . . . σκεπόμενος καταβιῶναι**: a Platonic reminiscence. In *Rep.* 496 D the covert from the storm of wind, dust, and rain is a wall, *οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι κονιορτοῦ καὶ ζάλης ὑπὸ πνεύματος φερομένου ὑπὸ τειχίον ἀποστάς, . . . καθαρὸς ἀδικίας τε καὶ ἀνοσίων ἔργων τόν τε ἐνθάδε βίον βιώσεται.* — **σκεπόμενος**: frequent in late prose, e.g. *D. Mort.* 10, 8; *Tim.* 21. — **καταβιῶναι**: note force of *κατά* (like *ἀπό* in *ἀπομάχομαι*, *I fight it out.* Lys. *adv. Sim.* 25). See Plato *Rep.* 578 C (*ὃς ἂν τυραννικὸς ὢν*) *μὴ ἰδιώτην βίον καταβιῷ . . . is prevented from completing his private life;* also Plato *Protag.* 355 A and Luc. *V.H.* A 12 *εὐδαιμονέστατα παρ' ἐμοὶ καταβιώσεσθε.*

30. **τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς**: *men of our day* (like *τὰ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ*, Hdt. 1, 5), but in *Rhet. Praec.* 11 *men of our pattern.*

ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὸ γένειον λέγω καὶ τὸ βάδισμα καὶ τὴν
ἀναβολήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιφθεγγο-
μένους τῷ σχήματι καὶ τἀναντία ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδεύοντας καὶ δια-
φθείροντας τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ τὸ
πρᾶγμα ὅμοιον ἐδόκει μοι καθάπερ ἂν εἴ τις ὑποκριτὴς τρα-
γῳδίας μαλθακὸς αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ γυναικεῖος Ἀχιλλέα ἢ Θησέα
ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὑποκρίνοιτο αὐτὸν μήτε βαδίζων μήτε
βοῶν ἡρωικόν, ἀλλὰ θρυπτόμενος ὑπὸ τηλικούτῳ προσωπείῳ,
ὃν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἡ Ἑλένη ποτὲ ἢ Πολυξένη ἀνάσχοιντο πέρα τοῦ
μετρίου αὐταῖς προσεοικότα, οὐχ ὅπως ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Καλλίνι-
κος. ἀλλά, μοὶ δοκεῖ, τάχιστ᾽ ἂν ἐπιτρίψαι τῷ ῥοπάλῳ παίων
τὸν τοιοῦτον, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον, οὕτως ἀτίμως κα-
32 τατεθηλυμμένος πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τοιαῦτα καὶ ὑμᾶς πάσχοντας
ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων ὁρῶν οὐκ ἤνεγκα τὴν αἰσχύνην τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, εἰ
πίθηκοι ὄντες ἐτόλμησαν ἡρώων προσωπεῖα περιθέσθαι ἢ τὸν
ἐν Κύμῃ ὄνον μιμήσασθαι, ὃς λεοντῆν περιβαλόμενος ἠξίου
λέων αὐτὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας τοὺς Κυμαίους ὀγκώμενος
μάλα τραχὺ καὶ καταπληκτικόν, ἄχρι δή τις αὐτὸν ξένος καὶ
λέοντα ἰδὼν καὶ ὄνον πολλάκις ἤλεγξε παίων τοῖς ξύλοις. ὃ
δὲ μάλιστά μοι δεινόν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, κατεφαίνετο, τοῦτο ἦν·
οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι εἴ τινα τούτων ἑώρων πονηρὸν ἢ ἄσχημον
ἢ ἀσελγές τι ἐπιτηδεύοντα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐ φιλοσοφίαν
αὐτὴν ᾐτιᾶτο καὶ τὸν Χρύσιππον εὐθὺς ἢ Πλάτωνα ἢ Πυθα-
γόραν ἢ ὅτου αὐτὸν ἐπώνυμον ὁ διαμαρτάνων ἐκεῖνος ἐποιεῖτο
καὶ οὗ τοὺς λόγους προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κακῶς βιοῦν-
τος πονηρὰ περὶ ὑμῶν εἴκαζον τῶν πρὸ πολλοῦ τεθνηκότων·

31. ἀντιφθεγγομένους: *contradicting*, as in *de Salt.* 23 πῶς ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι ἐκείνοις τολμᾷς; The first meaning is *echoing*. — **οὐχ ὅπως**: cf. *Char.* 8, note. — **ἐπιτρίψαι**: cf. Kühner-Blass [3], § 214, 3.

32. τὸν ἐν Κύμῃ ὄνον: cf. *Fugit.* 13 οἷόν τι . . . ὁ Αἴσωπός φησι ποιῆσαι τὸν ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ ὄνον. Cf. Aesop *Fab.* (Halm.) Nos. 333 and 336. — **ὀγκώμενος**: cf. *Fugit.* 14 ὀγκᾶσθαι, and note the context for the oft-repeated description of the externals of the philosopher.

οὐ γὰρ παρὰ ζῶντας ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐξέτασις αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ'
ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐκποδῶν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἑώρων σαφῶς ἅπαντες δεινὰ
καὶ ἄσεμνα ἐπιτηδεύοντα, ὥστε ἐρήμην ἡλίσκεσθε μετ' αὐ-
33 τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν διαβολὴν συγκατεσπᾶσθε. ταῦτα
οὐκ ἤνεγκα ὁρῶν ἔγωγε, ἀλλὰ ἤλεγχον αὐτοὺς καὶ διέκρινον
ἀφ' ὑμῶν· ὑμεῖς δέ, τιμᾶν ἐπὶ τούτοις δέον, ἐς δικαστήριον
ἄγετε. οὐκοῦν ἤν τινα καὶ τῶν μεμυημένων ἰδὼν ἐξαγο-
ρεύοντα τοῖν θεοῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐξορχούμενον ἀγανα-
κτήσω καὶ διελέγξω, ἐμὲ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα ἡγήσεσθε εἶναι;
ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἀθλοθέται μαστιγοῦν εἰώθασιν,
ἤν τις ὑποκριτὴς Ἀθηνᾶν ἢ Ποσειδῶνα ἢ τὸν Δία ὑποδεδυ-
κὼς μὴ καλῶς ὑποκρίνοιτο μηδὲ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ οὐ
δή που ὀργίζονται αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι τὸν περικείμενον αὐτῶν
τὰ προσωπεῖα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἐνδεδυκότα ἐπέτρεψαν παίειν
τοῖς μαστιγοφόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδοιντ' ἄν, οἶμαι, μαστιγου-
μένων· οἰκέτην μὲν γὰρ ἢ ἄγγελόν τινα μὴ δεξιῶς ὑποκρί-
νασθαι μικρὸν τὸ πταῖσμα, τὸν Δία δὲ ἢ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μὴ
κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι τοῖς θεαταῖς ἀποτρόπαιον ὡς αἰ-
34 σχρόν. καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τόδε πάντων ἀτοπώτατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι
τοὺς μὲν λόγους ὑμῶν πάνυ ἀκριβοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν,
καθάπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον ἀναγινώσκοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ με-
λετῶντες, ὡς τἀναντία ἐπιτηδεύοιεν, οὕτως βιοῦσιν· πάντα
μὲν γὰρ ὅσα φασίν, οἷον χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν καὶ δόξης
καὶ μόνον τὸ καλὸν οἴεσθαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀόργητον εἶναι
καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν τούτων ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας αὐτοῖς
διαλέγεσθαι, καλά, ὦ θεοί, καὶ σοφὰ καὶ θαυμάσια λίαν
ὡς ἀληθῶς. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μισθῷ διδάσκουσι
καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους τεθήπασι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον κεχή-
νασιν, ὀργιλώτεροι μὲν τῶν κυνιδίων ὄντες, δειλότεροι δὲ

33. **ἤν τις . . . ὑποκρίνοιτο**: see Introd. 36 (*a*).—**ἀποτρόπαιον ὡς αἰσχρόν**: *Heaven help us, how disgraceful that is!* Cf. ὑπερφυὲς ὡς and mirum quam.

τῶν λαγωῶν, κολακευτικώτεροι δὲ τῶν πιθήκων, ἀσελγέστεροι δὲ τῶν ὄνων, ἁρπακτικώτεροι δὲ τῶν γαλῶν, φιλονεικότεροι δὲ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων. τοιγαροῦν γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσιν ὠθιζόμενοι ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων θύρας ἀλλήλους παρωθούμενοι, δεῖπνα πολυάνθρωπα δειπνοῦντες καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐπαινοῦντες φορτικῶς καὶ πέρα τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἐμφορούμενοι καὶ μεμψίμοιροι φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος ἀτερπῆ καὶ ἀπῳδὰ φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἄκρατον οὐ φέροντες· οἱ ἰδιῶται δὲ ὁπόσοι ξυμπίνουσι, δηλαδὴ καταπτύουσι
35 φιλοσοφίας, εἰ τοιαῦτα καθάρματα ἐκτρέφει. τὸ δὲ πάντων αἴσχιστον, ὅτι μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι λέγων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μόνον πλούσιον εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν κεκραγὼς μικρὸν ὕστερον αἰτεῖ προσελθὼν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ μὴ λαβών, ὅμοιον ὡς εἴ τις ἐν βασιλικῷ σχήματι ὀρθὴν τιάραν ἔχων καὶ διάδημα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα βασιλείας γνωρίσματα προσαιτοίη τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων δεόμενος. ὅταν μὲν οὖν αὐτούς τι δέῃ λαμβάνειν, πολὺς ὁ περὶ τοῦ κοινωνικὸν εἶναι δεῖν λόγος καὶ ὡς ἀδιάφορον ὁ πλοῦτος καί, τί γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ψηφίδων διαφέρον; ὅταν δέ τις ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος ἑταῖρος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ φίλος ἀπ᾽ οὐκ ὀλίγων ὀλίγα αἰτῇ προσελθών, σιωπὴ καὶ μονὴ καὶ ἀπορία καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ παλινῳδία τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περὶ φιλίας ἐκεῖνοι λόγοι καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὸ καλὸν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅποι

34. **λαγωῶν**: see App. — **ἐμφορούμενοι**: in *Symp.* 11 Lucian describes an old Stoic as he appeared when confronted, not by theories and syllogisms, but by blood-puddings and other dainties: *ὁρᾷς . . . ὅπως ἐμφορεῖται τῶν ὄψων καὶ ἀναπέπλησται ζωμοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ὅσα τῷ παιδὶ κατόπιν ἑστῶτι ὀρέγει λανθάνειν οἰόμενος τοὺς ἄλλους;* — **τὸν ἄκρατον οὐ φέροντες**: *they lose their heads*, cf. § 32 *οὐκ ἤνεγκα τὴν αἰσχύνην.* Also *Symp.* 14 ff. where the goblet of *ζωρότερον* proves too much for the Cynic's equanimity. But see App. — For general thought in § 34 cf. S. Matt. 23, 2–7.

35. **μηδενός**: see Introd. 39 (*a*). — **ἀδιάφορον**: technical term of Stoics. See *Vit. Auct.* 21, and the notes on *Vit. Auct.* 20, for this whole passage. — **τῶν ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ψηφίδων**: with this passage compare *Tim.* 56. — **μονή**: see App.

ποτὲ οἴχεται πάντα ταῦτα ἀποπτάμενα, πτερόεντα ὡς ἀληθῶς
ἔπη, μάτην ὁσημέραι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς σκιαμα-
36 χούμενα. μέχρι γὰρ τούτου φίλος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ἐς ὅσον
ἂν μὴ ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ᾖ προκείμενον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ· ἢν δέ
τις ὀβολὸν ἐπιδείξῃ μόνον, λέλυται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, ἄσπονδα
δὲ καὶ ἀκήρυκτα πάντα, καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἐξαλήλιπται καὶ ἡ
ἀρετὴ πέφευγεν, οἷόν τι καὶ οἱ κύνες πάσχουσιν· ἐπειδάν τις
ὀστοῦν ἐς μέσους αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλῃ, ἀναπηδήσαντες δάκνου-
σιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν προαρπάσαντα τὸ ὀστοῦν ὑλακτοῦσι.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ βασιλεύς τις Αἰγύπτιος πιθήκους ποτὲ πυρ-
ριχίζειν διδάξαι καὶ τὰ θηρία — μιμηλότατα δέ ἐστι τῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων — ἐκμαθεῖν τάχιστα καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι ἁλουργίδας
ἀμπεχόμενα καὶ προσωπεῖα περικείμενα, καὶ μέχρι γε πολ-
λοῦ εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν θέαν, ἄχρι δή τις θεατὴς ἀστεῖος κάρυα
ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὸ μέσον· οἱ δὲ πίθηκοι ἰδόντες
καὶ ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς ὀρχήσεως, τοῦθ᾽ ὅπερ ἦσαν, πίθηκοι
ἐγένοντο ἀντὶ πυρριχιστῶν καὶ ξυνέτριβον τὰ προσωπεῖα καὶ
τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήγνυον καὶ ἐμάχοντο περὶ τῆς ὀπώρας
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ δὲ σύνταγμα τῆς πυρρίχης διελέλυτο καὶ
37 κατεγελᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου. τοιαῦτα καὶ οὗτοι ποιοῦσι, καὶ
ἔγωγε τοὺς τοιούτους κακῶς ἠγόρευον καὶ οὔποτε παύσομαι

36. ὑλακτοῦσι: with acc. Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1401–1402:

Αἴσωπον ἀπὸ δείπνου βαδίζονθ᾽ ἑσπέρας
θρασεῖα καὶ μεθύση τις ὑλάκτει κύων.

And the context here about the dancing apes suggests the fable (in Aesop *Fab.* Halm. 88) of the weasel metamorphosed into a pro tempore maiden but recalled to her weaselhood by the sudden advent of a mouse. See, too, the story (cited by Heitland) in *Apol.* 5, about the ape ὃν Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῇ πάνυ φασὶ γενέσθαι· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ διδαχθέντα τέως μὲν ὀρχεῖσθαι πάνυ κοσμίως καὶ ἐμμελῶς . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν ἰσχάδας, οἶμαι, ἢ ἀμύγδαλον πόρρω κειμένην, μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα τοῖς αὐλοῖς καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ ὀρχήμασι, συναρπάσαντα κατατρώγειν, ἀπορρίψαντα, μᾶλλον δὲ συντρίψαντα τὸ προσωπεῖον. — **πυρριχίζειν**: the Spartan and Cretan military dance degenerated — or developed — into a mimetic ballet. See Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Pyrrhica" and "Pantomimus." — **ὀπώρας**: this word is used both for fruit trees, cf. *V. H.* B 13,

διελέγχων καὶ κωμῳδῶν, περὶ ὑμῶν δὲ ἢ τῶν ὑμῖν παραπλησίων — εἰσὶ γάρ. εἰσί τινες ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίαν ζηλοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις ἐμμένοντες — μὴ οὕτω μανείην ἐγὼ ὡς βλάσφημον εἰπεῖν τι ἢ σκαιόν. τί γὰρ ὑμῖν τοιοῦτο βεβίωται; τοὺς δὲ ἀλαζόνας ἐκείνους καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς ἄξιον οἶμαι μισεῖν. ἢ σὺ γάρ, ὦ Πυθαγόρα καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Χρύσιππε καὶ Ἀριστότελες, τί φατε; προσήκειν ὑμῖν τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ οἰκεῖόν τι καὶ ξυγγενὲς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τῷ βίῳ; νὴ Δία Ἡρακλῆς, φασί, καὶ πίθηκος. ἢ διότι πώγωνας ἔχουσι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν φάσκουσι, διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ ὑμῖν εἰκάζειν αὐτούς; ἀλλὰ ἤνεγκα ἄν, εἰ πιθανοὶ γοῦν ἦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως αὐτῆς· νῦν δὲ θᾶττον ἂν γὺψ ἀηδόνα μιμήσαιτο ἢ οὗτοι φιλοσόφους. εἴρηκα ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ὁπόσα εἶχον. σὺ δέ, ὦ Ἀλήθεια, μαρτύρει πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰ ἀληθῆ ἐστι.

38 ΦΙΛ. Μετάστηθι, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, ἔτι πορρωτέρω. τί ποιῶμεν ἡμεῖς; πῶς ὑμῖν εἰρηκέναι ἁνὴρ ἔδοξεν;

ΑΛΗΘ. Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς γῆς δῦναι ηὐχόμην· οὕτως ἀληθῆ πάντα εἶπεν. ἐγνώριζον γοῦν ἀκούουσα ἕκαστον τῶν ποιούντων αὐτὸ κἀφήρμοζον μεταξὺ τοῖς λεγομένοις Τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τόνδε, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ δεῖνα ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅλως ἔδειξε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐναργῶς καθάπερ ἐπί τινος γραφῆς πάντα ἐοικότας, οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ἀπεικάσας.

ΣΩΦΡ. Κἀγὼ πάνυ ἠρυθρίασα, ὦ Ἀλήθεια.

ΦΙΛ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τί φατε;

and for the fruit itself such as grapes, pears, etc.; cf. Plato *Legg.* 844 D ff. Here it refers to the *nuts*, *κάρυα*.

37. **οὕτω . . . ὡς**: see Introd. 26. — **σὺ . . . τί φατε**: note plural verb. — **Ἡρακλῆς καὶ πίθηκος**: proverbial of an utter contrast, like "Beauty and the Beast."

38. **Τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τόνδε**: sc. *ἁρμόζει*, intrans. as in Isocr. 21 D *τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ἁρμόττει*. — **καθάπερ ἐπί τινος γραφῆς**: cf. *Char.* 6 *ὥσπερ ἐν γραφαῖς*.

ΑΝΑΒ. Τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ἀφεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ φίλον ἡμῖν καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀναγεγράφθαι: τὸ γοῦν τῶν Ἰλιέων ἀτεχνῶς πεπόνθαμεν, τραγῳδόν τινα τοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κεκινήκαμεν ᾀσόμενον τὰς Φρυγῶν ξυμφοράς. ᾀδέτω δ' οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς ἐκτραγῳδείτω.

ΔΙΟΓ. Καὶ αὐτός, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, πάνυ ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀνατίθεμαι τὰ κατηγορούμενα καὶ φίλον ποιοῦμαι αὐτὸν γενναῖον ὄντα.

39 ΦΙΛ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Παρρησιάδη· ἀφίεμέν σε τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ ταῖς πάσαις κρατεῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἴσθι ἡμέτερος ὤν.

ΠΑΡΡ. Προσεκύνησα τὴν Πτερωτήν· μᾶλλον δὲ τραγικώτερον αὐτὸ ποιήσειν μοι δοκῶ· σεμνότερον γάρ·

ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη, τὸν ἐμὸν
βίοτον κατέχοις
καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.

ΑΡΕΤ. Οὐκοῦν δευτέρου κρατῆρος ἤδη καταρχώμεθα, προσκαλῶμεν κἀκείνους, ὡς δίκην ὑπόσχωσιν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐς ὑμᾶς ὑβρίζουσι· κατηγορήσει δὲ Παρρησιάδης ἑκάστου.

— **τὸ τῶν Ἰλιέων**: a proverbial expression like "We have only ourselves to blame for it." It is more fully given in *Pseudolog.* 10 ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν Ἰλιεὺς ὢν τραγῳδοὺς ἐμισθώσω, καιρὸς ἤδη σοι ἀκούειν τὰ σαυτοῦ κακά.

39. **ταῖς πάσαις** (sc. ψήφοις): in *Bis Acc.* 32 the disguised Lucian lacks one vote of unanimous acquittal. ΔΙΚ. τίς κρατεῖ; ΕΡΜ. πάσαις ὁ Σύρος πλὴν μιᾶς. — **Προσεκύνησα**: cf. § 5 note. — **τὴν Πτερωτήν**: a happy conjecture for τήν γε πρώτην. See App. The winged Victory, crowned with a golden wreath, and standing on the outstretched hand of the great chryselephantine Athena in the Parthenon, was itself more than six feet high. We must suppose that Lucian addresses this Nike. — **ὦ . . . στεφανοῦσα**:

O majestical Victory, shelter my life
'Neath thy covert of wings—
Aye—cease not to grant me thy crowning.

μέγα is adverbial like πάνυ. This anapaestic formula is found at the end of three Euripidean plays; i.e. the *Tauric Iphigenia*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenissae.* Another formula (presumably repeated by the actors) was used at the end of the *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Helena*, and *Medea*, and is likewise borrowed by Lucian for the grand finale

ΠΑΡΡ. Ὀρθῶς, ὦ Ἀρετή, ἔλεξας· ὥστε σύ, παῖ Συλλογισμέ, κατακύψας ἐς τὸ ἄστυ προσκήρυττε τοὺς φιλοσόφους.

40 ΣΥΛΛ. Ἄκουε, σίγα· τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἥκειν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἀπολογησομένους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρετῆς καὶ Φιλοσοφίας καὶ Δίκης.

ΠΑΡΡ. Ὁρᾷς; ὀλίγοι συνέρχονται γνωρίσαντες τὸ κήρυγμα· ἄλλως γὰρ δεδίασι τὴν Δίκην. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ σχολὴν ἄγουσιν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἔχοντες. εἰ δὲ βούλει πάντας ἥκειν, κατὰ τάδε, ὦ Συλλογισμέ, κήρυττε.

ΦΙΛ. Μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, προσκάλει καθ' ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ.

41 ΠΑΡΡ. Οὐδὲν τόδε χαλεπόν. Ἄκουε, σίγα. ὅσοι φιλόσοφοι εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅσοι προσήκειν αὐτοῖς οἴονται τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἥκειν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ τὴν διανομήν. δύο μναῖ ἑκάστῳ δοθήσονται καὶ σησαμαῖος πλακοῦς· ὃς δ' ἂν πώγωνα βαθὺν ἐπιδείξηται, καὶ παλάθην ἰσχάδων οὗτός γε

of his *Symposium*. — **παῖ Συλλογισμέ κτλ.**: *Deduction, my boy* (*induct them into the Acropolis*). Συλλογισμέ is chosen, apparently, as a pun on συλλέγω.

40. Ἄκουε, σίγα: this formula is used again *Deor. Concil.* 1, while in *Bis Acc.* 12 we find ἀκούετε λεῴ (cf. *Oyez! Oyez!*). See Ar. *Aves* 448; *Pax* 551; *Ach.* 1000. For σίγα cf. *Ach.* 123 where the herald cries σίγα, κάθιζε. For ἥκειν as imv., chiefly in poetry and legal language, cf. Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 420, 5. In Ar. *Ach.* 172 the herald uses it bluntly without any ἀκούετε, i.e. τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἀπιέναι.

41. δύο μναῖ . . . σησαμαῖος πλακοῦς: Ruskin takes this as motto in Sect. I of *Sesame and Lilies*. These cakes were a favorite dish. In Luc. *Symp.* 38 they form an essential part of the feast: εἰσεκεκόμιστο ἡμῖν τὸ ἐντελὲς ὀνομαζόμενον δεῖπνον, μία ὄρνις ἑκάστῳ καὶ κρέας ὑὸς καὶ λαγῷα καὶ ἰχθὺς ἐκ ταγήνου καὶ σησαμοῦντες καὶ ὅσα ἐντραγεῖν. So in *Symp.* 27 the Stoic who had been left out notifies the host by letter that it would be useless to try to appease him by sending μοῖράν τινα ἢ συὸς ἢ ἐλάφου ἢ σησαμοῦντος, and the Cynic in § 16 had been tamed down by the providential advent of a πλακοῦς εὐμεγέθης, πρὸς ὃν ἀποβλέψας ἡμερώτερος ἐγένετο καὶ ἔληξε τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ ἐνεφορεῖτο (*and proceeded to lay in a cargo*) συμπεριιὼν (*accompanying the waiter as he made his rounds*). Cf. § 13, where he is described as changing, like the Scythian nomads, ever to pastures new as he followed round with the waiters who

προσεπιλήψεται· κομίζειν δ' ἕκαστον σωφροσύνην μὲν ἢ δικαιοσύνην ἢ ἐγκράτειαν μηδαμῶς· οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα γὰρ ταῦτά γε, ἢν μὴ παρῇ· πέντε δὲ συλλογισμοὺς ἐξ ἅπαντος· οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἄνευ τούτων εἶναι σοφόν.

> κεῖται δ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
> τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ πᾶσιν ἐριζέμεν ἔξοχος εἴη.

42 Βαβαί, ὡς πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἄνοδος ὠθιζομένων, ἐπεὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς ἤκουσαν μόνον. παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἕτεροι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἔτι πλείους, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον προσθέμενοι κλίμακας ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν νὴ

bore the relishes. — **συλλογισμούς**: cf. *Vit. Auct.* 24. — **κεῖται δ'** κτλ.: a parody on *Il.* 18, 507 ff.:

> κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
> τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι.

42. Βαβαί κτλ.: for a similar scene cf. *Bis Acc.* 12 and 13 (beginning βαβαὶ τοῦ θορύβου) where the parties to all overdue suits are summoned by Hermes to the Areopagus. — **παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικόν**: as Parrhesiades mentions the following places he must be supposed to move from one side to the other of the Acropolis: (*a*) τὸ Πελασγικόν, a large precinct at the base of the Acropolis extending from the Asclepieum on the south side, about opposite the southwest corner of the Parthenon, round the west end and the northwest corner of the rock. Cf. *Bis Acc.* 9, where Pan's cave is mentioned as μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Πελασγικοῦ, and see charts in Harrison and Verrall, *Mythol. and Monuments of Anc. Athens*, p. 296 and p. 4; see also p. 538. (*b*) κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον: on the south side of the Acropolis adjoining the Dionysiac Theatre; see Harrison and Verrall l.c. and pp. 297–329. (*c*) παρὰ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον: the Areopagus lies west and slightly north of the Acropolis. (*d*) κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον: immediately above the Dionysiac Theatre and the Asclepieum, on the south side of the Acropolis and at the base of the cliff. Cf. Harrison and Verrall, pp. 296 and 299. Talos (called Kalos by Pausanias 1, 21, 4) was thrown down this cliff by his master and uncle Daedalus on account of his inventions and too great proficiency in pottery, just as the boy Lucian excited (as he alleges to his mother *Somn.* 4) his uncle's jealousy. (*e*) πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον: the Ἄνακες (ἄνακτες or Διόσκουροι) had their precinct probably on the northern slope of the Acropolis. For the worship of the Twins at Athens see Harrison and Verrall, pp. 151–163. Note in the above the shift in the prepositions

Δία καὶ βοτρυδόν, ἵνα καὶ καθ᾽ Ὅμηρον εἴπω, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖθεν εὖ μάλα πολλοὶ κἀντεῦθεν

μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρῃ.

μεστὴ δὲ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἐν βραχεῖ κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων καὶ πανταχοῦ πήρα πώγων κολακεία ἀναισχυντία βακτηρία λιχνεία συλλογισμὸς φιλαργυρία· οἱ ὀλίγοι δέ, ὁπόσοι πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον κήρυγμα ἐκεῖνο ἀνῄεσαν, ἀφανεῖς καὶ ἄσημοι, ἀναμιχθέντες τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ λελήθασιν ἐν τῇ ὁμοιότητι τῶν ἄλλων σχημάτων. τοῦτο γοῦν τὸ δεινότατόν ἐστιν, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καὶ ὅ τις ἂν μέμψαιτό σου μάλιστα, τὸ μηδὲ ἐπιβαλεῖν γνώρισμα καὶ σημεῖον αὐτοῖς· πιθανώτεροι γὰρ οἱ γόητες οὗτοι πολλάκις τῶν ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφούντων.

ΦΙΛ. Ἔσται τοῦτο μετ᾽ ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ δεχώμεθα ἤδη αὐτούς.

43 ΠΛΑΤ. Ἡμᾶς πρώτους χρὴ τοὺς Πλατωνικοὺς λαβεῖν.

ΠΥΘ. Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς ἡμᾶς· πρότερος γὰρ ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἦν.

ΣΤΩΙΚ. Ληρεῖτε· ἀμείνους ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς.

ΠΕΡ. Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ ἔν γε τοῖς χρήμασι πρῶτοι ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴημεν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου.

ΕΠΙΚ. Ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις τοὺς πλακοῦντας δότε καὶ τὰς παλάθας· περὶ δὲ τῶν μνῶν περιμενοῦμεν, κἂν ὑστάτους δέῃ λαμβάνειν.

ΑΚΑΔ. Ποῦ τὰ δύο τάλαντα; δείξομεν γὰρ οἱ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὶ ὅσον τῶν ἄλλων ἐσμὲν ἐριστικώτεροι.

παρά, κατά, παρά, κατά, πρός. — **μυρίοι κτλ.**: *Il.* 2, 468. Another Homeric reminiscence; as *βοτρυδόν* from *Il.* 2, 89 and *κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων*, from *Il.* 2, 463. — **πήρα . . . φιλαργυρία**: comic collocation: first two pairs of the outer and inner indicia, then the outer and inner alternate.

43. οἱ Ἀκαδημαϊκοί: the newer Academics, e.g. Arcesilaus, about 250 B.C.,

ΣΤΩΙΚ. Οὐχ ἡμῶν γε τῶν Στωικῶν παρόντων.

44 ΦΙΛ. Παύσασθε φιλονεικοῦντες· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ Κυνικοὶ μήτε ὠθεῖτε ἀλλήλους μήτε τοῖς ξύλοις παίετε· ἐπ᾽ ἄλλα γὰρ ἴστε κεκλημένοι· καὶ νῦν ἔγωγε ἡ Φιλοσοφία καὶ Ἀρετὴ αὕτη καὶ Ἀλήθεια δικάσομεν τίνες οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντές εἰσιν, εἶτα ὅσοι μὲν ἂν εὑρεθῶσι κατὰ τὰ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα βιοῦντες, εὐδαιμονήσουσιν ἄριστοι κεκριμένοι· τοὺς γόητας δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν προσήκοντας κακοὺς κακῶς ἐπιτρίψομεν, ὡς μὴ ἀντιποιοῖντο τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἀλαζόνες ὄντες. τί τοῦτο; φεύγετε; νὴ Δία, κατὰ τῶν γε κρημνῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἁλλόμενοι. κενὴ δ᾽ οὖν ἡ Ἀκρόπολις, πλὴν ὀλίγων τούτων, ὁπόσοι μεμε-
45 νήκασιν οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν κρίσιν. οἱ ὑπηρέται, ἀνέλεσθε τὴν πήραν ἣν ὁ Κυνίσκος ἀπέρριψεν ἐν τῇ τροπῇ. φέρ᾽ ἴδω τί καὶ ἔχει, ἦ που θέρμους ἢ βιβλίον ἢ ἄρτους τῶν αὐτοπυριτῶν;

ΠΑΡΡ. Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ χρυσίον τουτὶ καὶ μύρον καὶ κάτοπτρον καὶ κύβους.

ΦΙΛ. Εὖ γε, ὦ γενναῖε. τοιαῦτά σοι ἦν τὰ ἐφόδια τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἠξίους λοιδορεῖσθαι ἅπασι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παιδαγωγεῖν;

ΠΑΡΡ. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν οὗτοι. χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς σκοπεῖν ὅντινα τρόπον ἀγνοούμενα ταῦτα πεπαύσεται καὶ διαγνώσονται οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες, οἵτινες οἱ ἀγαθοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ οἵτινες αὖ πάλιν οἱ τοῦ ἑτέρου βίου.

ΦΙΛ. σύ, ὦ Ἀλήθεια, ἐξεύρισκε — ὑπὲρ σοῦ γὰρ τοῦτο γένοιτο ἂν — ὡς μὴ ἐπικρατήσῃ τὸ ψεῦδος μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῇ

founder of the Middle Academy, and Carneades, about 150 B.C., founder of the Third or New Academy. He asserted that there was no sure criterion of truth. Hence Lucian often classifies the (new) Academics and Sceptics together. The Old Academy is represented above by *τοὺς Πλατωνικούς*. — **ἐριστικώτεροι**: referring to *ἐριζέμεν*, end of § 41.

44. ἀντιποιοῖντο: opt. after primary tense, see Introd. 35 (*a*).

45. οἱ ὑπηρέται: for case see § 21. — **τῶν αὐτοπυριτῶν**: *of whole-wheat bread.* For case cf. *τῶν ναυπηγικῶν* in note on § 46, contrast gen. in Introd. 31. — **τῆς ἀσκήσεως**: *for your profession.*

ἀγνοίᾳ λανθάνωσιν οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν σε τοὺς χρηστοὺς μεμιμημένοι.

46 ΑΛΗΘ. Ἐπ' αὐτῷ. εἰ δοκεῖ, Παρρησιάδη ποιησώμεθα τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐπεὶ χρηστὸς ὦπται καὶ εὔνους ἡμῖν καὶ σέ, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, μάλιστα θαυμάζων, τὸ παραλαβόντα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἔλεγχον ἅπασι τοῖς φάσκουσι φιλοσοφεῖν ἐντυγχάνειν. εἶθ' ὃν μὲν ἂν εὕρῃ γνήσιον ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλόσοφον, στεφανωσάτω θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ Πρυτανεῖον καλεσάτω. ἢν δέ τινι — οἷοι πολλοί εἰσι — καταράτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὑποκριτῇ φιλοσοφίας ἐντύχῃ, τὸ τριβώνιον περισπάσας ἀποκειράτω τὸν πώγωνα ἐν χρῷ πάνυ τραγοκουρικῇ μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου στίγματα ἐπιβαλέτω ἢ ἐγκαυσάτω κατὰ τὸ μεσόφρυον· ὁ δὲ τύπος τοῦ καυτῆρος ἔστω ἀλώπηξ ἢ πίθηκος.

ΦΙΛ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Ἀλήθεια· ὁ δὲ ἔλεγχος, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, τοιόσδε ἔστω, οἷος ὁ τῶν ἀετῶν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι λέγεται, οὐ μὰ Δί' ὥστε κἀκείνους ἀντιβλέπειν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο δοκιμάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ προθεὶς χρυσίον καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἡδονὴν ὃν μὲν ἂν αὐτῶν ἴδῃς ὑπερορῶντα καὶ μηδαμῶς ἑλκόμενον πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὗτος ἔστω τῷ θαλλῷ στεφόμενος, ὃν δ' ἂν ἀτενὲς ἀποβλέποντα καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ὀρέγοντα ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ καυτήριον τοῦτον ἀποκείραντα πρότερον τὸν πώγωνα.

46. **ἀποκειράτω . . . μαχαίρᾳ**: cf. the shearing of the philosopher's beard in *D. Mort.* 10, 9. ΦΙΛ. καὶ τίς ὁ ἀποκείρων ἔσται; ΕΡΜ. Μένιππος οὑτοσὶ λαβὼν πέλεκυν τῶν ναυπηγικῶν ἀποκόψει αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν πώγωνα) ἐπικόπῳ τῇ ἀποβάθρᾳ χρησάμενος. — **στίγματα ἐπιβαλέτω ἢ ἐγκαυσάτω**: *let him tattoo or brand.* Cf. *Catapl.* 24 ff. where, at the trial before Rhadamanthus, it appears that ὁπόσα ἄν τις . . . πονηρὰ ἐργάσηται παρὰ τὸν βίον, καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ στίγματα ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς περιφέρει. — **ὁ τῶν ἀετῶν**: in *Icar.* 14 an eagle is the king eagle if ἀντίον δέδορκε τῷ ἡλίῳ and ἢν ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ (*without winking*) πρὸς τὰς ἀκτῖνας βλέπῃ. — **ἐπὶ τὸ καυτήριον**: *branding-place* (cf. δικαστήριον, βουλευτήριον, and § 27 πωλητήριον), or perhaps *branding-iron* or *brand* as in § 52.

47 ΠΑΡΡ. Ὡς ἔδοξεν ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καὶ ὄψει αὐτίκα μάλα τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀλωπεκίας ἢ πιθηκοφόρους, ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ἐστεφανωμένους· εἰ βούλεσθε μέντοι, κἀνταῦθα ἀνάξω τινὰς ὑμῖν νὴ Δί' αὐτῶν.

ΦΙΛ. Πῶς λέγεις; ἀνάξεις τοὺς φυγόντας;

ΠΑΡΡ. Καὶ μάλα, ἤνπερ ἡ ἱέρειά μοι ἐθελήσῃ πρὸς ὀλίγον χρῆσαι τὴν ὁρμιὰν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ ἄγκιστρον, ὅπερ ὁ ἁλιεὺς ἀνέθηκεν ὁ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

ΙΕΡ. Ἰδοὺ δὴ λαβέ, καὶ τὸν κάλαμόν γε ἅμα, ὡς πάντα ἔχοις.

ΠΑΡΡ. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἱέρεια, καὶ ἰσχάδας μοί τινας δὸς ἀνύσασα καὶ ὀλίγον τοῦ χρυσίου.

ΙΕΡ. Λάμβανε.

ΦΙΛ. Τί πράττειν ἁνὴρ διανοεῖται;

ΙΕΡ. Δελεάσας τὸ ἄγκιστρον ἰσχάδι καὶ τῷ χρυσίῳ καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τειχίου καθῆκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν.

ΦΙΛ. Τί ταῦτα, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, ποιεῖς; ἦ που τοὺς λίθους ἁλιεύσειν διέγνωκας ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ;

ΠΑΡΡ. Σιώπησον, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καὶ τὴν ἄγραν περίμενε· σὺ δέ, Πόσειδον ἀγρεῦ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη φίλη, πολλοὺς ἡμῖν
48 ἀνάπεμπε τῶν ἰχθύων. ἀλλ' ὁρῶ τινα λάβρακα εὐμεγέθη, μᾶλλον δὲ χρύσοφρυν.

47. **ἀλωπεκίας ἢ πιθηκοφόρους**: the *fox-and-monkey brand.* *πιθηκοφόρους* is coined on the analogy of *σαμφόρας* (Ar. *Nub.* 122), a blooded horse branded sampi (ϡ), and *ἀλωπεκίας* to recall *κοππατίας* (Ar. *Nub.* 23), *ϙ-branded*, is perverted from its meaning of "thresher shark." This anticipates, too, the shark-fishing below. In another passage (*Indoct.* 5), Lucian has *κοππαφόρον* meaning a *Corinthian* bred horse with a Pegasus pedigree, ϙ standing for *ϙόρινθος*. — **ἡ ἱέρεια** (sc. *τῆς Πολιάδος*): see § 21. — **ὁ ἁλιεύς**: this concluding incident prevailed in the title. It contains in brief the leading idea — Lucian's crusade against sharks and shams. The "Resurrected" are only a chorus. — **ἀνέθηκεν**: this or the imperfect is regularly used in inscriptions of the person who dedicates an offering. — **ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ**: see note on § 42. — **τὴν ἄγραν**: cf. S. Luke 5, 9 *ἐπὶ τῇ ἄγρᾳ τῶν ἰχθύων*. — **ἀγρεῦ**: an available epithet for the appropriate god in the mouth of the hunter.

48. **λάβρακα** and **χρύσοφρυν**: the *snatcher* and the *gilt-head* naturally

ΕΛΕΓ. Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ γαλεός ἐστι· προσέρχεται δὴ τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ κεχηνώς. ὀσφρᾶται τοῦ χρυσίου· πλησίον ἤδη ἐστίν· ἔψαυσεν· εἴληπται· ἀνασπάσωμεν.

ΠΑΡΡ. Καὶ σύ, ὦ Ἔλεγχε, νῦν ξυνεπιλαβοῦ τῆς ὁρμιᾶς· ἄνω ἐστί. φέρ' ἴδω τίς εἶ, ὦ βέλτιστε ἰχθύων; κύων οὗτός γε. Ἡράκλεις τῶν ὀδόντων. τί τοῦτο, ὦ γενναιότατε; εἴληψαι λιχνεύων περὶ τὰς πέτρας, ἔνθα λήσειν ἤλπισας ὑποδεδυκώς; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔσῃ φανερὸς ἅπασιν ἐκ τῶν βραγχίων ἀπηρτημένος. ἐξέλωμεν τὸ δέλεαρ καὶ τὸ ἄγκιστρον. τὸ δὲ τί; κενόν σοι τὸ ἄγκιστρον· ἡ δ' ἰσχὰς ἤδη προσέσχηται καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ.

ΔΙΟΓ. Μὰ Δί' ἐξεμεσάτω, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλους δελεάσωμεν.

ΠΑΡΡ. Εὖ ἔχει· τί φῄς, ὦ Διόγενες; οἶσθα τοῦτον ὅστις ἐστίν, ἢ προσήκει σοί τι ἁνήρ;

ΔΙΟΓ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΠΑΡΡ. Τί οὖν; πόσου ἄξιον αὐτὸν χρὴ φάναι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ δύ' ὀβολῶν πρῴην αὐτὸν ἐτιμησάμην.

ΔΙΟΓ. Πολλοῦ λέγεις· ἄβρωτός τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ εἰδεχθὴς καὶ σκληρὸς καὶ ἄτιμος· ἄφες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας· σὺ δὲ ἄλλον ἀνάσπασον καθεὶς τὸ ἄγκιστρον. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὅρα, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, μὴ καμπτόμενός σοι ὁ κάλαμος ἀποκλασθῇ.

came first to the hook. — **γαλεός**: a kind of shark. Tr. *sea-cat* (see Cent. Dict. s.v. "Wolf-fish") or *cat-fish*. This latter name is applied to the wolf-fish; to the common American cat-fish, which sometimes weighs a hundred pounds; and, locally, in England, to the Scyllioid shark. We have the *dog-shark*, and the fish in question here turns out, when landed, to be *κύων τις*. — **προσέρχεται . . . ἀνασπάσωμεν**: note the effective asyndeta. — **ὀσφρᾶται**: the classic form is *ὀσφραίνεται*. — **Ἡράκλεις**: the oath, as usual, is chosen with judgment. Heracles was the patron saint of Cynics. At the Banquet (§ 16) the Cynic says to the bride, *προπίνω σοι, ὦ Κλεανθί, Ἡρακλέους ἀρχηγέτου*. — **Εὖ ἔχει**: *that's right!* (said as the gold reappears). — **δύ' ὀβολῶν πρῴην**: the price paid for Diogenes *Vit. Auct.* 11. — **Πολλοῦ λέγεις**: so, in *D. Mort.* 4, 1, Charon complains of the price paid by Hermes for the anchor. — **ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὅρα**: *but*

ΠΑΡΡ. Θάρρει, ὦ Διόγενες· κοῦφοί εἰσι καὶ τῶν ἀφύων ἐλαφρότεροι.

ΔΙΟΓ. Νὴ Δί', ἀφυέστατοί γε· ἀνάσπα δὲ ὅμως.

49 ΠΑΡΡ. Ἰδού· τίς ἄλλος οὗτος ὁ πλατύς; ὥσπερ ἡμίτομος ἰχθὺς προσέρχεται, ψῆττά τις, κεχηνὼς ἐς τὸ ἄγκιστρον· κατέπιεν, ἔχεται, ἀνεσπάσθω.

ΔΙΟΓ. Τίς ἐστιν;

ΕΛΕΓ. Ὁ Πλατωνικὸς εἶναι λέγων.

ΠΛΑΤ. Καὶ σύ, ὦ κατάρατε, ἥκεις ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσίον;

ΠΑΡΡ. Τί φῄς, ὦ Πλάτων; τί ποιῶμεν αὐτόν;

ΠΛΑΤ. Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πέτρας καὶ οὗτος.

50 ΔΙΟΓ. Ἐπ' ἄλλον καθείσθω.

ΠΑΡΡ. Καὶ μὴν ὁρῶ τινα πάγκαλον προσιόντα, ὡς ἂν ἐν βυθῷ δόξειεν, ποικίλον τὴν χρόαν, ταινίας τινὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἐπιχρύσους ἔχοντα. ὁρᾷς, ὦ Ἔλεγχε; ὁ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην προσποιούμενος οὗτός ἐστιν. ἦλθεν· εἶτα πάλιν ἀπενήξατο. περισκοπεῖ ἀκριβῶς· αὖθις ἐπανῆλθεν· ἔχανεν· εἴληπται· ἀνιμήσθω.

ΑΡΙΣΤ. Μὴ ἔρῃ με, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀγνοῶ γὰρ ὅστις ἐστίν.

look out for this above all. A legitimate use of ἐκεῖνος. Cf. Lysias *contra Erat.* 79. Schmid, however, I, 238, classifies this with other cases in Lucian where ἐκεῖνος merges its meaning with οὗτος. — **ἀφύων**: from *ἀφύη sardine; ἀφυῶν* from *ἀφυής weak-minded;* perhaps tr. *weak-fish* and *ἀφυέστατοι very weak in the upper story.*

49. ὁ πλατύς: the *flat* or *plate* (fish) and ψῆττα, meaning the *plaice* or *platessa*, and *blockhead*, introduce the reference to Πλάτων. — **Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πέτρας καὶ οὗτος**: sc. *ἀφείσθω* (see ἄφες § 48). So too end of §§ 50 and 51. Cf. for § 51, Schmid I, 423.

50. ποικίλον τὴν χρόαν: perhaps alluding to Aristotle's versatility, as in Swinburne's *Sappho* "a mind of many colors" (*ποικιλόφρων*). — **ταινίας . . . ἐπιχρύσους**: *with golden bands.* Our *ribbon-fish* (*Taeniosomi*) is so named from the shape. The fresh-water *sun-fish* would come nearer this description. Aristotle's wealth is alluded to also in *Vit. Auct.* 26. — **περισκοπεῖ ἀκριβῶς**: *he is thinking it over carefully.* This suits the context, and Aristotle's

ΠΑΡΡ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτος, ὦ Ἀριστότελες, κατὰ τῶν πε-
51 τρῶν. ἀλλ' ἣν ἰδού, πολλούς που τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὁρῶ κατὰ
ταὐτὸν ὁμόχροας, ἀκανθώδεις καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκτετραχυσμένους, ἐχίνων δυσληπτοτέρους. ἦ που σαγήνης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δεήσει; ἀλλ' οὐ πάρεστιν. ἱκανὸν εἰ κἂν ἕνα τινὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀνασπάσαιμεν. ἥξει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγκιστρον δηλαδὴ ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν θρασύτατος ᾖ.

ΕΛΕΓ. Κάθες, εἰ δοκεῖ, σιδηρώσας γε πρότερον ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ὁρμιᾶς, μὴ ἀποπρίσῃ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι καταπιὼν τὸ χρυσίον.

ΠΑΡΡ. Καθῆκα. σὺ δέ, ὦ Πόσειδον, ταχεῖαν ἐπιτέλει τὴν ἄγραν. βαβαῖ, μάχονται περὶ τοῦ δελέατος, καὶ συνάμα πολλοὶ περιτρώγουσι τὴν ἰσχάδα, οἳ δὲ προσφύντες ἔχονται τοῦ χρυσίου. εὖ ἔχει· περιεπάρη τις μάλα καρτερός. φέρ' ἴδω τίνος ἐπώνυμον σεαυτὸν εἶναι λέγεις; καίτοι γελοῖός γέ εἰμι ἀναγκάζων ἰχθὺν λαλεῖν· ἄφωνοι γὰρ οὗτοί γε. ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ Ἔλεγχε, εἰπὲ ὅντινα ἔχει διδάσκαλον.

ΕΛΕΓ. Χρύσιππον τουτονί.

mental processes, better than the Ms. περισκόπει.

51. τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκτετραχυσμένους: *rigorism* was a chief characteristic of Stoicism. The insinuation that it was superficial was not made concerning Chrysippus himself even in *Vit. Auct.*, but in attacking contemporary Stoics (see *Symp.*, *Hermot.*, etc.) Lucian has much to say of the discord between their real character and the outward man. Add this compound, in the meaning *roughen*, to Chabert's lists (op. cit. pp. 125 and 139) of new compounds (or of new meanings) in Lucian. — **ἐχίνων**: here *sea-urchins*. — **σιδηρώσας . . . ὁρμιᾶς**: *first sheathing with iron a good piece of the line.* In Homer's times a sheath of horn had been sufficient. Cf. *Il.* 24, 81:

ἣ τε (i.e. the sinker) κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαυῖα
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῇσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρουσα.

For ἐπὶ πολύ with gen. cf. ἐπὶ μέγα in the description of the iron-plated jib of the crane, Thuc. 4, 100, ἐσεσιδήρωτο ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου. — **μὴ ἀποπρίσῃ**: in Praed's *Red Fisherman* the abbot "gnaws in twain" the "choicest line" and makes off with the bait — a bishop's mitre — but the fisher exclaims:

Let him swim to the north, let him swim to the south,
The abbot will carry my hook in his mouth.

— **ἄφωνοι**: see App. For proverb cf. note on *Vit. Auct.* 3. — **Χρύσιππον**:

ΠΑΡΡ. Μανθάνω· διότι χρυσίον, οἶμαι, προσῆν τῷ ὀνόματι. σὺ δ' οὖν, Χρύσιππε, πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰπέ, οἶσθα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ τοιαῦτα παρῄνεις αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν;

ΧΡΥΣ. Νὴ Δί', ὑβριστικὰ ἐρωτᾷς, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, προσήκειν τι ἡμῖν ὑπολαμβάνων τοιούτους ὄντας.

ΠΑΡΡ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Χρύσιππε, γενναῖος εἶ. οὗτος γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀκανθώδης ἐστί, καὶ δέος, μὴ διαπαρῇ τις τὸν λαιμὸν ἐσθίων.

52 ΦΙΛ. Ἅλις, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, τῆς ἄγρας, μὴ καί τίς σοι, οἷοι πολλοί εἰσιν, οἴχηται ἀποσπάσας τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἄγκιστρον, εἶτά σε ἀποτῖσαι τῇ ἱερείᾳ δεήσῃ. ὥστε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀπίωμεν περιπατήσουσαι· καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀπιέναι ὅθεν ἥκετε, μὴ καὶ ὑπερήμεροι γένησθε τῆς προθεσμίας. σὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔλεγχος, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, κύκλῳ ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἰόντες ἢ στεφανοῦτε ἢ ἐγκάετε, ὡς ἔφην.

ΠΑΡΡ. Ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλοσοφία. χαίρετε, ὦ βέλτιστοι ἀνδρῶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ κατίωμεν, ὦ Ἔλεγχε, καὶ τελῶμεν τὰ παρηγγελμένα. ποῖ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἀπιέναι δεήσει; μῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν ἢ ἐς τὴν Στοάν; ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυκείου ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀρχήν; οὐδὲν διοίσει τοῦτο. πλὴν οἶδ' ἐγὼ ὡς ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἀπέλθωμεν, ὀλίγων μὲν τῶν στεφάνων, πολλῶν δὲ τῶν καυτηρίων δεησόμεθα.

see *Vit. Auct.* 21 ff. — **γενναῖος εἶ**: *you are a gentleman.* Cf. note on § 24 supra; and in Ar. *Thesm.* 220 Euripides asks Agathon to lend him a razor and is told to help himself from the razor-case. This he proceeds to do, remarking:

Γενναῖος εἶ.
Κάθιζε· φύσα τὴν γνάθον τὴν δεξιάν.

L. & S. s.v., 3, misinterpret this expression in the *Thesm.* as "a civil refusal." — **μὴ διαπαρῇ τις τὸν λαιμόν**: *lest some one get his throat punctured.*

52. **ὑπερήμεροι . . . τῆς προθεσμίας**: like Charon (*Char.* 1) the philosophers were on a furlough limited (§ 14) to one day. — **οὐδὲν διοίσει**: cf. *Hermot.* 85 where Lucian expressly disclaims any partiality: "first come, first served." — **καυτηρίων**: vide supra on § 46.

DIALOGI DEORUM

INTRODUCTION

These short pieces, like the *Dialogi Marini*, are dramatic pictures.[1] It is, indeed, a temptation to think of them only as miniatures in which Lucian gives precedence to his artist's love of style and form. Certainly, as has been said,[2] "one is puzzled to find irony or satire in many of them. Not a few resist analysis. Complete and rounded they are, but complete and rounded as is the soap-bubble — which mirrors for a moment sky and sea and earth, then vanishes in an iridescent collapse."

But the satire, even if not too obvious, is generally there, and is all the more effective because the gods with their own mouths convict themselves of folly and passion. They plead guilty by explaining. To the Greeks men had been near gods (ἀγχίθεοι) from the first; and Zeus and Hera, from Homer on, are subject to anthropomorphic fits of anger and other frailties. These topics were as legitimate as the weather; and, as for that, the weather-bureau figured largely as a business office for the "Boudoir of Zeus."[3] Thus the satire of Aristophanes, irreverent as it is, has apparently no intent to overthrow the Olympian dynasty. If Zeus rains, snows, or metamorphoses himself into a bull, it is matter of public interest, but none of his eccentricities need shake the orthodox belief. With Lucian, on the other hand, under the mock reverence there is the most iconoclastic intent. Zeus and the other gods come before us in all their chryselephantine pomp, but they lay open their breasts

[1] Cf. Schmid on Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, in *Bursian's Jahresber.* 1901, p. 247: "Die Hetären-, See- und Göttergesprache sind atticistisch zubereitete μῖμοι."

[2] Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, p. 340, with the whole context.

[3] Ar. *Ran.* 100.

to us with confiding frankness and show their unlovely and wooden interior.[1] Such testimony admitted no rebuttal. The case goes against them by default — ἐρήμη, ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός.

These dialogues as pictures suggest that some work of art, whether painting or sculpture, served Lucian by way of a model. The most persuasive parallels have been drawn[2] between certain extant monuments of art and many of the scenes depicted both in the *Dialogi Deorum* and in the *Dialogi Marini*. Could we have access to all that was then known, this indebtedness would doubtless be still more apparent. Lucian was not straining after novelty — neither new pigments nor new models — and such reminiscence, when it suited his purpose, was a matter of course.

The form itself of the dialogues, with their brevity and penetrating wit, is not of a piece with the frank comedy of Aristophanes, on which Lucian elsewhere draws so freely. It is rather akin to the "ironical and treacherous grace" which is attributed[3] to Menippus,[4] from whose well-worn Cynic's cloak, through windows gaping here and there (πολύθυρον τριβώνιον[5]), Lucian's mocking eyes look forth.

[1] Cf. *Jupp. Trag.* 8, and *Gall.* 24.

[2] See Blümner, *Studien zu Lucian*, pp. 69–76; also see note to *D. Deor.* 13, 2, and Introd. to *D. Mar.*, p. 169.

[3] Cf. Croiset, p. 62: "La grâce ironique et perfide dont Ménippe parait avoir eu le don."

[4] See Introd. to *D. Mort.*, p. 189, note 2.

[5] *D. Mort.* 1, 2.

ΘΕΩΝ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ

7

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ

1 ΗΦ. Ἑώρακας, ὦ Ἄπολλον, τὸ τῆς Μαίας βρέφος τὸ ἄρτι τεχθέν, ὡς καλόν τέ ἐστι καὶ προσμειδιᾷ πᾶσι καὶ δηλοῖ ἤδη μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν ἀποβησόμενον;

ΑΠ. Ἐκεῖνο τὸ βρέφος, ὦ Ἥφαιστε, ἢ μέγα ἀγαθόν, ὃ τοῦ Ἰαπετοῦ πρεσβύτερόν ἐστιν ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ πανουργίᾳ;

ΗΦ. Καὶ τί ἂν ἀδικῆσαι δύναιτο ἀρτίτοκον ὄν;

ΑΠ. Ἐρώτα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, οὗ τὴν τρίαιναν ἔκλεψεν, ἢ τὸν Ἄρη· καὶ τούτου γὰρ ἐξείλκυσε λαθὼν ἐκ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος, ἵνα μὴ ἐμαυτὸν λέγω, ὃν ἀφώπλισε τοῦ τόξου καὶ τῶν βελῶν.

2 ΗΦ. Τὸ νεογνὸν ταῦτα, ὃ μόλις ἕστηκε, τὸ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις;

ΑΠ. Εἴσῃ, ὦ Ἥφαιστε, ἤν σοι προσέλθῃ μόνον.

7

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥ *κτλ.*: sc. *διάλογος*, and so with the following titles.

1. τὸ . . . βρέφος: read *h. Hom.* 3 (also Shelley's translation 3; 8), with Hor. *Carm.* 1, 10, for epithets of Hermes as *λόγιος, ἀγώνιος, διάκτορος, μουσικός, κλέπτης, ἐριούνιος, ψυχοπομπός.* — **μέγα . . . ἀποβησόμενον**: *going to turn out to be some great blessing.* — **Ἰαπετοῦ**: father of Prometheus and hence remote ancestor of the human race. — **ἀρτίτοκον**: in *h. Hom.* 3, 406 the word used is *νεογνός*. Cf. infra § 2. See Shelley, *Hymn to Mercury*, 3:

> The babe was born at the first peep of day;
> He began playing on the lyre at noon,
> And the same evening did he steal away
> Apollo's herds.

2. ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις: cf. *h. Hom.* 3, 237 where Hermes, after his cow-stealing excursion, *σπάργαν᾽ ἔσω κατέδυνε*

ΗΦ. Καὶ μὴν προσῆλθεν ἤδη.

ΑΠ. Τί οὖν; πάντα ἔχεις τὰ ἐργαλεῖα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόλωλεν αὐτῶν;

ΗΦ. Πάντα, ὦ Ἄπολλον.

ΑΠ. Ὅμως ἐπίσκεψαι ἀκριβῶς.

ΗΦ. Μὰ Δία, τὴν πυράγραν οὐχ ὁρῶ.

ΑΠ. Ἀλλ᾽ ὄψει που ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις αὐτὴν τοῦ βρέφους.

ΗΦ. Οὕτως ὀξύχειρ ἐστὶ καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐκμελετήσας τὴν κλεπτικήν;

3 ΑΠ. Οὐ γὰρ ἤκουσας αὐτοῦ καὶ λαλοῦντος ἤδη στωμύλα καὶ ἐπίτροχα· ὁ δὲ καὶ διακονεῖσθαι ἡμῖν ἐθέλει. χθὲς δὲ προκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἔρωτα κατεπάλαισεν εὐθὺς οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ὑφελὼν τὼ πόδε· εἶτα μεταξὺ ἐπαινούμενος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μὲν τὸν κεστὸν ἔκλεψε προσπτυξαμένης αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ γελῶντος ἔτι τὸ σκῆπτρον· εἰ δὲ μὴ βαρύτερος ὁ κεραυνὸς ἦν καὶ πολὺ τὸ πῦρ εἶχε, κἀκεῖνον ἂν ὑφείλετο.

ΗΦ. Γοργόν τινα τὸν παῖδα φῄς.

ΑΠ. Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη καὶ μουσικόν.

ΗΦ. Τῷ τοῦτο τεκμαίρεσθαι ἔχεις;

4 ΑΠ. Χελώνην που νεκρὰν εὑρὼν ὄργανον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς συνεπήξατο· πήχεις γὰρ ἐναρμόσας καὶ ζυγώσας, ἔπειτα κολλάβους ἐμπήξας καὶ μαγάδα ὑποθεὶς καὶ ἐντεινάμενος ἑπτὰ

θυήεντα. — **τὴν πυράγραν**: for sing. number cf. Germ. *die Zange;* also *die Scheere* (scissors). — **ὀξύχειρ**: "And great is Hermes' self, *light-fingered* god," R. H. Stoddard. — **ἐκμελετήσας**: note gender; so in § 1 some Mss. have *λαθών* for *λαθόν*.

4. **ὄργανον**: in *D. Mar.* 1, 4, Doris in ridiculing Galatea's troubadour describes the parts of his crude instrument also. See Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Lyra," and cf. for the Stealer and the tortoise Kipling's *Song of the Banjo:*

The grandam of my grandam was the lyre
 [O the blue below the little fisher huts!]
That the Stealer stooping beachward filled with fire,
 Till she bore my iron head and ringing guts!

χορδὰς ἐμελῴδει πάνυ γλαφυρόν, ὦ Ἥφαιστε, καὶ ἐναρμόνιον, ὡς κἀμὲ αὐτῷ φθονεῖν πάλαι κιθαρίζειν ἀσκοῦντα. ἔλεγε δὲ ἡ Μαῖα ὡς μηδὲ μένοι τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ περιεργίας ἄχρι τοῦ Ἅιδου κατίοι, κλέψων τι κἀκεῖθεν δηλαδή. ὑπόπτερος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ῥάβδον τινὰ πεποίηται θαυμασίαν τὴν δύναμιν, ᾗ ψυχαγωγεῖ καὶ κατάγει τοὺς νεκρούς.

ΗΦ. Ἐγὼ ἐκείνην ἔδωκα αὐτῷ παίγνιον εἶναι.

ΑΠ. Τοιγαροῦν ἀπέδωκέ σοι τὸν μισθόν, τὴν πυράγραν—

ΗΦ. Εὖ γε ὑπέμνησας· ὥστε βαδιοῦμαι ἀποληψόμενος αὐτήν, εἴ που ὡς φῂς εὑρεθείη ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις.

13

ΔΙΟΣ, ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1 ΖΕΥΣ. Παύσασθε, ὦ Ἀσκληπιὲ καὶ Ἡράκλεις, ἐρίζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι· ἀπρεπῆ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἀλλότρια τοῦ συμποσίου τῶν θεῶν.

ΗΡΑ. Ἀλλὰ ἐθέλεις, ὦ Ζεῦ, τουτονὶ τὸν φαρμακέα προκατακλίνεσθαί μου;

ΑΣΚ. Νὴ Δία· καὶ ἀμείνων γάρ εἰμι.

and, again, for Celt and Greek connected by language and the lyre:

So I draw the world together link by link:
Yea, from Delos up to Limerick and back!

— **κἀμέ**: cf. Shelley, op. cit., 72, where Apollo

Listened with all his soul, and laughed for pleasure.
Close to his side stood harping fearlessly
The unabashèd boy.

— **μηδέ**: for *οὐδέ*. See Introd. 39 (*b*). — **ὡς . . . οὐρανῷ**: *that he won't stay in heaven o' nights.* Cf. Shelley, 3:

Nor long could in the sacred cradle keep.

— **κατάγει**: cf. *Char.* 22, line 480.

13

1. **φαρμακέα**: *druggist.* Incidentally, the classic meaning *poisoner* is viciously suggested, as comes out below in *ῥιζοτόμος* (veneficus). — **προκατακλίνεσθαι**: for the places of honor see *Symp.* 8 and cf. Plutarch *Quaest.*

ΗΡΑ. Κατὰ τί, ὦ ἐμβρόντητε; ἢ διότι σε ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσεν ἃ μὴ θέμις ποιοῦντα, νῦν δὲ κατ' ἔλεον αὖθις ἀθανασίας μετείληφας;

ΑΣΚ. Ἐπιλέλησαι γὰρ καὶ σύ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ καταφλεγείς, ὅτι μοι ὀνειδίζεις τὸ πῦρ;

ΗΡΑ. Οὔκουν ἴσα καὶ ὅμοια βεβίωται ἡμῖν, ὃς Διὸς μὲν υἱός εἰμι, τοσαῦτα δὲ πεπόνηκα ἐκκαθαίρων τὸν βίον, θηρία καταγωνιζόμενος καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὑβριστὰς τιμωρούμενος· σὺ δὲ ῥιζοτόμος εἶ καὶ ἀγύρτης, νοσοῦσι μὲν ἴσως ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμος ἐπιθέσει τῶν φαρμάκων, ἀνδρῶδες δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπιδεδειγμένος.

2 ΑΣΚ. Εὖ λέγεις, ὅτι σου τὰ ἐγκαύματα ἰασάμην, ὅτε πρῴην ἀνῆλθες ἡμίφλεκτος ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν διεφθαρμένος τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τοῦ χιτῶνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ πυρός· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, οὔτε ἐδούλευσα ὥσπερ σὺ οὔτε ἔξαινον ἔρια ἐν Λυδίᾳ πορφυρίδα ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ παιόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης χρυσῷ σανδάλῳ, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ μελαγχολήσας ἀπέκτεινα τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα.

ΗΡΑ. Εἰ μὴ παύσῃ λοιδορούμενός μοι, αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσῃ ὡς οὐ πολύ σε ὀνήσει ἡ ἀθανασία, ἐπεὶ ἀράμενός σε ῥίψω ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸν Παιῶνα ἰάσεσθαί σε τὸ κρανίον συντριβέντα.

ΖΕΥΣ. Παύσασθε, φημί, καὶ μὴ ἐπιταράττετε ἡμῖν τὴν ξυνουσίαν, ἢ ἀμφοτέρους ἀποπέμψομαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ξυμποσίου.

Sympos. 2, 4; and 3. — **μὴ θέμις**: Asklepios was killed by Zeus's bolt because his healing art held back too many from Pluto's realm. For the worship of Asklepios see note on *Pisc.* 42. — **ἐκκαθαίρων** κτλ.: Heracles refers with just pride to his strenuous career. — **ἐπιθέσει**: we might have expected πρὸς (or εἰς) ἐπίθεσιν, see App.

2. **χιτῶνος**: i.e. the one steeped in the blood of Nessus. — **Ὀμφάλης . . . σανδάλῳ**: from the detailed repetition in *Hist. Conscr.* 10 it is to be inferred that Lucian has some actual work of art in mind, just as Eros chastised by Aphrodite (*D. Deor.* 11, 1) was probably suggested by one or another statuette (cf. Blümner, op. cit., p. 71) representing a woman with her raised right hand holding the threatening sandal.

καίτοι εὔγνωμον, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, προκατακλίνεσθαί σου τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅτε καὶ πρότερον ἀποθανόντα.

19

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΩΤΟΣ

1 ΑΦΡ. Τί δήποτε, ὦ Ἔρως, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους θεοὺς κατηγωνίσω ἅπαντας, τὸν Δία, τὸν Ποσειδῶ, τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τὴν Ῥέαν, ἐμὲ τὴν μητέρα, μόνης δὲ ἀπέχῃ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης ἄπυρος μέν σοι ἡ δᾴς, κενὴ δὲ οἰστῶν ἡ φαρέτρα, σὺ δὲ ἄτοξος εἶ καὶ ἄστοχος;

ΕΡ. Δέδια, ὦ μῆτερ, αὐτήν· φοβερὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ χαροπὴ καὶ δεινῶς ἀνδρική· ὁπόταν γοῦν ἐντεινάμενος τὸ τόξον ἴω ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἐπισείουσα τὸν λόφον ἐκπλήττει με καὶ ὑπότρομος γίνομαι καὶ ἀπορρεῖ μου τὰ τοξεύματα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν.

ΑΦΡ. Ὁ Ἄρης γὰρ οὐ φοβερώτερος ἦν; καὶ ὅμως ἀφώπλισας αὐτὸν καὶ νενίκηκας.

ΕΡ. Ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος ἑκὼν προσίεταί με καὶ προσκαλεῖται, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ὑφορᾶται ἀεί, καί ποτε ἐγὼ μὲν ἄλλως παρέπτην πλησίον ἔχων τὴν λαμπάδα, ἡ δέ, εἴ μοι πρόσει, φησί, νὴ τὸν πατέρα, τῷ δορατίῳ σε διαπείρασα ἢ τοῦ ποδὸς λαβομένη καὶ ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον ἐμβαλοῦσα ἢ αὐτὴ διασπασαμένη διαφθερῶ. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἠπείλησε· καὶ ὁρᾷ δὲ δριμὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους ἔχει πρόσωπόν τι φοβερὸν ἐχίδναις κατάκομον, ὅπερ ἐγὼ μάλιστα δέδια· μορμολύττεταί γάρ με καὶ φεύγω ὅταν ἴδω αὐτό.

— **πρότερον ἀποθανόντα**: "First come, first served," is Zeus's solution.

19

1. **σὺ δὲ . . . ἄστοχος**: like the plight of Sennacherib's men:
The lances unlifted, the trumpet unblown.

— **ἀνδρική**: *mannish.* — **ὑπότρομος**: *all of a tremble.* — **γίνομαι**: see Introd. 40. — **ἄλλως**: *incidentally.* — **ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους**: for the Gorgon head on statues of Athena see Paus. 1, 24, 7 and Harrison and Verrall, op. cit., pp. 445 ff.

2 ΑΦΡ. Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἀθηνᾶν δέδιας, ὡς φῄς, καὶ τὴν Γοργόνα, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ φοβηθεὶς τὸν κεραυνὸν τοῦ Διός. αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι διὰ τί σοι ἄτρωτοι καὶ ἔξω βελῶν εἰσιν; ἢ κἀκεῖναι λόφους ἐπισείουσι καὶ Γοργόνας προφαίνουσιν;

ΕΡ. Αἰδοῦμαι αὐτάς, ὦ μῆτερ· σεμναὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἀεί τι φροντίζουσι καὶ περὶ ᾠδὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἐγὼ παρίσταμαι πολλάκις αὐταῖς κηλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους.

ΑΦΡ. Ἔα καὶ ταύτας, ὅτι σεμναί· τὴν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν τίνος ἕνεκα οὐ τιτρώσκεις;

ΕΡ. Τὸ μὲν ὅλον οὐδὲ καταλαβεῖν αὐτὴν οἷόν τε φεύγουσαν ἀεὶ διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν· εἶτα καὶ ἴδιόν τινα ἔρωτα ἤδη ἐρᾷ.

ΑΦΡ. Τίνος, ὦ τέκνον;

ΕΡ. Θήρας καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ νεβρῶν, αἱρεῖν τε διώκουσα καὶ κατατοξεύειν, καὶ ὅλως πρὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ τόν γε ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς, καίτοι τοξότην καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ ἑκηβόλον—

ΑΦΡ. Οἶδα, ὦ τέκνον, πολλὰ ἐκεῖνον ἐτόξευσας.

25

ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΛΙΟΥ

1 ΖΕΥΣ. Οἷα πεποίηκας, ὦ Τιτάνων κάκιστε· ἀπολώλεκας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἅπαντα, μειρακίῳ ἀνοήτῳ πιστεύσας τὸ ἅρμα, ὃς τὰ μὲν κατέφλεξε πρόσγειος ἐνεχθείς, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ κρύους διαφθαρῆναι ἐποίησε πολὺ αὐτῶν ἀποσπάσας τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ ξυνετάραξε καὶ ξυνέχεε, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ξυνεὶς τὸ γιγνόμενον κατέβαλον αὐτὸν τῷ κεραυνῷ, οὐδὲ λείψανον

— **μορμολύττεται**: for Mormo see Theocr. 15, 40 and Gulick, pp. 75 ff.

2. **καίτοι**: for *καίπερ*. See Introd. 27.

25

1. **μειρακίῳ**: i.e. Phaethon. This reads like a synopsis of Ovid *Met.* 2, 1 ff. — **τὰ μὲν κατέφλεξε . . . κρύους**: cf.

ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ἔμεινεν ἄν· τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν ἡνίοχον τὸν καλὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ διφρηλάτην ἐκπέπομφας.

ΗΛ. Ἥμαρτον, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ χαλέπαινε, εἰ ἐπείσθην υἱῷ πολλὰ ἱκετεύοντι· πόθεν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἤλπισα τηλικοῦτο γενήσεσθαι κακόν;

ΖΕΥΣ. Οὐκ ᾔδεις ὅσης ἐδεῖτο ἀκριβείας τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὡς, εἰ βραχύ τις ἐκβαίη τῆς ὁδοῦ, οἴχεται πάντα; ἠγνόεις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων τὸν θυμόν, ὡς ἀεὶ ξυνέχειν ἀνάγκη τὸν χαλινόν; εἰ γὰρ ἐνδοίη τις, ἀφηνιάζουσιν εὐθύς, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκαν, ἄρτι μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ λαιά, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ δρόμου ἐνίοτε, καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω, ὅλως ἔνθα ἐβούλοντο αὐτοί· ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς.

2 ΗΛ. Πάντα μὲν ἠπιστάμην ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀντεῖχον ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ τὴν ἔλασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελιπάρησε δακρύων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Κλυμένη μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἀναβιβασάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα ὑπεθέμην ὅπως μὲν χρὴ βεβηκέναι αὐτόν, ἐφ' ὁπόσον δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄνω ἀφέντα ὑπερενεχθῆναι, εἶτα ἐς τὸ κάταντες αὖθις ἐπινεύειν καὶ ὡς ἐγκρατῆ εἶναι τῶν ἡνιῶν καὶ μὴ ἐφιέναι τῷ θυμῷ τῶν ἵππων· εἶπον δὲ καὶ ἡλίκος ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ μὴ ὀρθὴν ἐλαύνοι· ὁ δὲ — παῖς γὰρ ἦν — ἐπιβὰς τοσούτου πυρὸς καὶ ἐπικύψας ἐς βάθος ἀχανὲς ἐξεπλάγη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι ὡς ᾔσθοντο οὐκ ὄντα ἐμὲ τὸν ἐπιβεβηκότα, καταφρονήσαντες τοῦ μειρακίου ἐξετράποντο

Ovid *Met.* 2, 156–160. — **ᾔδεις**: see Introd. 14 (*b*). — **ἀεί**: see App. — **ἐνδοίη**: for opt. in primary sequence see Introd. 35 (*c*). — **ἀφηνιάζουσιν**: cf. *Bis Acc.* 1, where Zeus complains on behalf of the overworked gods: "Helios here," he says, "yokes his team, and, putting on his fire-halo with its flashing rays, scours the heaven the livelong day without so much as having time, as the saying goes, to scratch his ear. For if ever he forgets himself for a minute and grows careless, his horses run away (ἀφηνιάσαντες), turn off the track, and burn up everything."

2. **ὑπεθέμην**: cf. the explicit directions in Ovid l.c. — **βεβηκέναι**: *keep his footing.* — **οἱ δὲ ἵπποι . . . οὐκ ὄντα ἐμέ**:

τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἡνίας ἀφείς, οἶμαι δεδιὼς μὴ ἐκπέσῃ αὐτός, εἴχετο τῆς ἄντυγος. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνός τε ἤδη ἔχει τὴν δίκην κἀμοί, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἱκανὸν τὸ πένθος.

3 ΖΕΥΣ. *Ἱκανὸν λέγεις τοιαῦτα τολμήσας; νῦν μὲν οὖν συγγνώμην ἀπονέμω σοι, ἐς δὲ τὸ λοιπόν, ἤν τι ὅμοιον παρανομήσῃς ἤ τινα τοιοῦτον σεαυτοῦ διάδοχον ἐκπέμψῃς, αὐτίκα εἴσῃ ὁπόσον τοῦ σοῦ πυρὸς ὁ κεραυνὸς πυρωδέστερος. ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μὲν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ θαπτέτωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἠριδανῷ, ἵναπερ ἔπεσεν ἐκδιφρευθείς, ἤλεκτρον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δακρύουσαι καὶ αἴγειροι γενέσθωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, σὺ δὲ ξυμπηξάμενος τὸ ἅρμα —κατέαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ ῥυμὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅτερος τῶν τροχῶν συντέτριπται—ἔλαυνε ὑπαγαγὼν τοὺς ἵππους. ἀλλὰ μέμνησο τούτων ἁπάντων.*

cf. Ovid *Met.* 2, 161:

Sed leve pondus erat, nec quod cognoscere possent
Solis equi, solitaque jugum gravitate carebat.
. . . .
Quod simulac sensere (cf. *ὡς ᾔσθοντο*).
— **ἄντυγος**: generally translated *rim* or *edge* and referred to the rail which in the vase-paintings is seen running along the top of an Attic chariot. Reichel (*Homerische Waffen*[2], pp. 142 ff.) contends that for the Homeric chariot, at least, it can mean only the *dash-board* or *curved front*.

3. αἱ ἀδελφαί: the Heliades, mourning for their brother, are changed into poplars and their tears ever distil as amber. See Ovid, *Met.* 2, 340–366, and compare with Virgil, *Aen.* 3, 37, Dante, *Inf.* 13. — **θαπτέτωσαν**: see Introd. 17.

DIALOGI MARINI

INTRODUCTION

There are fifteen *Dialogues of the Sea*, and they contain some of Lucian's finest touches. In these aquarelles satirist and artist blend. And the reader is as docile as in the *True History*. Our vision is refracted by the shining water, and everything is credible beneath its magic depths. Whatever material Lucian borrowed from Ovid, or a common original, he had no need for the more cumbersome processes of the *Metamorphoses*.

A delicate satire permeates the artistic charm, and these *Marine Dialogues* are *un exemple perpétuel de cette dérision presque imperceptible.*[1] While the satire in the *Dialogues of the Dead* is more obvious, stronger — partly by reason of the more weighty subject-matter — here, ever and anon, Fancy astride a dolphin rises from the clear water that holds the unnoticed satire in solution. In satirizing canonical mythology and creeds Lucian reaches his end by no caricature. With an artist's restraint he simply changes the proportions and modifies the face.[2] The credulity, too, of contemporaries, such as the pious Pausanias,[3] gave Lucian opportunity for incidental mockery that may often be overlooked by a modern reader.

As with the *Dialogues of the Dead*, several of these also were pretty certainly suggested by works of art extant in Lucian's time. Possibly many of the others may have been suggested by paintings or sculpture now lost.[4]

[1] Cf. Croiset, 62 and 209. [2] Ibid., 211.

[3] See below, notes to *D. Mar.* 3, 1, and 12, 1.

[4] Cf. the following notes and see Blümner, *Studien zu Lucian*, pp. 76–82. Blümner's suggestion (l.c. p. 81), that these dialogues were really intended as a formal satire on the degeneracy of contemporary art, seems to ignore the more obvious motive.

The "iridescent bubble" does not burst in vain. It condenses in a water-drop of the "Ocean of the Streams of Story." Thus, in 2, we have Polyphemus's brute strength succumbing to intellectual cunning, and, inlaid upon it, the mimicry of Homer's ram; in 3, the cool, bubbling fountain; in 5, the banquet scene and the quarrelling goddesses; in 6, the girl and her water-jar; in 8, Arion playing to the sailors; in 14, the rescue of Andromeda; and in 15, the two pictures, Europa carried off in the midst of her maidens, and the wedding journey — such processions forming a favorite motive for painter, sculptor, and writer. And, finally, the picture in 12 is one likely to rest in the memory — the blue Aegean, the island rock, the fair and smiling child, the fairer mother, the brawny, gentle fishermen.

ΕΝΑΛΙΟΙ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ

2

ΚΥΚΛΩΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

1 ΚΥΚ. Ὦ πάτερ, οἷα πέπονθα ὑπὸ τοῦ καταράτου ξένου, ὃς μεθύσας ἐξετύφλωσέ με κοιμωμένῳ ἐπιχειρήσας.

ΠΟΣ. Τίς δὲ ἦν ὁ ταῦτα τολμήσας, ὦ Πολύφημε;

ΚΥΚ. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Οὖτιν αὑτὸν ἀπεκάλει, ἐπεὶ δὲ διέφυγε καὶ ἔξω ἦν βέλους, Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἔφη.

ΠΟΣ. Οἶδα ὃν λέγεις, τὸν Ἰθακήσιον· ἐξ Ἰλίου δ' ἀνέπλει. ἀλλὰ πῶς ταῦτα ἔπραξεν οὐδὲ πάνυ εὐθαρσὴς ὤν;

2 ΚΥΚ. Κατέλαβον ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἀναστρέψας πολλούς τινας, ἐπιβουλεύοντας δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς ποιμνίοις· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπέθηκα τῇ θύρᾳ τὸ πῶμα — πέτρα δέ ἐστι παμμεγέθης — καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσα ἐναυσάμενος ὃ ἔφερον δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐφάνησαν ἀποκρύπτειν αὑτοὺς πειρώμενοι· ἐγὼ δὲ συλλαβών τινας αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, κατέφαγον λῃστάς γε ὄντας. ἐνταῦθα ὁ πανουργότατος ἐκεῖνος, εἴτε

2

Title: cf. *Od.* 9, 216–542; Ar. *Vesp.* 170–190; Eur. *Cyclops.*

1. **κοιμωμένῳ**: sc. *ἐμοί* from *με.* — **Οὖτιν**: Homer's polyphonic puns — *οὖτις* and *οὔτις* *Od.* 9, 366, *μή τις* 405, *μῆτις* 414 — reappear only in part in Ar. *Vesp.* 185 ff. and Eur. *Cyclops* 672 ff. — **Ἰθακήσιον**: Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 185, prolongs the pun Ἴθακος (as if from ἴθι) Ἀποδρασιππίδου *M. Goville* son of *M. Ready-to-Ride-away.* — **οὐδὲ . . . εὐθαρσής**: Odysseus *πολύμητις* represents the Greek cunning, not the ideal knighthood of Achilles.

2. **πέτρα**: *a massive crag*, not a (*πέτρος*) mere *stone*, is made the "lid" (*πῶμα*) of the cave's mouth. For the contrast see Thayer's N.T. Lex. s.v. *πέτρα.* — **ὃ ἔφερον**: note the casual mention.

Οὖτις εἴτε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦν, δίδωσί μοι πιεῖν φάρμακόν τι ἐγχέας, ἡδὺ μὲν καὶ εὔοσμον, ἐπιβουλότατον δὲ καὶ ταραχωδέστατον· ἅπαντα γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐδόκει μοι περιφέρεσθαι πιόντι καὶ τὸ σπήλαιον αὐτὸ ἀνεστρέφετο καὶ οὐκέτι ὅλως ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ ἦν, τέλος δὲ ἐς ὕπνον κατεσπάσθην. ὁ δὲ ἀποξύνας τὸν μοχλὸν καὶ πυρώσας γε προσέτι ἐτύφλωσέ με καθεύδοντα, καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τυφλός εἰμί σοι, ὦ Πόσειδον.

3 ΠΟΣ. Ὡς βαθὺν ὕπνον ἐκοιμήθης, ὦ τέκνον, ὃς οὐκ ἐξέθορες μεταξὺ τυφλούμενος. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Ὀδυσσεὺς πῶς διέφυγεν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ἠδυνήθη ἀποκινῆσαι τὴν πέτραν ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας.

ΚΥΚ. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἀφεῖλον, ὡς μᾶλλον αὐτὸν λάβοιμι ἐξιόντα, καὶ καθίσας παρὰ τὴν θύραν ἐθήρων τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετάσας, μόνα παρεὶς τὰ πρόβατα ἐς τὴν νομήν, ἐντειλάμενος τῷ κριῷ ὁπόσα ἐχρῆν πράττειν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

4 ΠΟΣ. Μανθάνω· ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἔλαθον ὑπεξελθόντες· σὲ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Κύκλωπας ἔδει ἐπιβοήσασθαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν.

ΚΥΚ. Συνεκάλεσα, ὦ πάτερ, καὶ ἧκον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤροντο τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντος τοὔνομα κἀγὼ ἔφην ὅτι Οὖτίς ἐστι,

"A tree that I had in my hand." — **ἐπιβουλότατον**: Polyphemus was served with *unmixed* wine. Cf. Eur. *Cyclops* 557:

ΣΕΙΛ. πῶς οὖν κέκραται; φέρε διασκεψώμεθα.
ΚΥΚΛ. ἀπολεῖς· δὸς οὕτως.

— **ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ**: for case cf. ἐν and εἰς Ἅιδου. For the meaning cf. the English idiom *beside myself*.

3. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν κτλ.: *but Odysseus, to return to him*, etc.; see L. & S. s.v. οὖν. — **εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι**: cf. Introd. 29. — **ἐντειλάμενος τῷ κριῷ**: the address to the ram in the Odyssey (9, 447 ff.) is wellnigh comic in its Epic naïveté: κριὲ πέπον, τί μοι ὧδε κτλ. . . . ἦ σύ γ᾽ ἄνακτος ὀφθαλμὸν ποθέεις, κτλ. Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 179) does not miss this comic element in Bdelycleon's pathetic address to the family ass, led forth to the auction-block with the old man under its shaggy belly:

κάνθων, τί κλάεις; ὅτι πεπράσει τήμερον;
βάδιζε θᾶττον. τί στένεις, εἰ μὴ φέρεις
Ὀδυσσέα τιν᾽;

The charge to the ram is Lucian's own contribution to the story.

4. ἔφην ὅτι: the ὅτι is used like " ", but see note on *Peregr.* 23. —

μελαγχολᾶν οἰηθέντες με ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες. οὕτω κατεσοφίσατό με ὁ κατάρατος τῷ ὀνόματι. καὶ ὃ μάλιστα ἠνίασέ με, ὅτι καὶ ὀνειδίζων ἐμοὶ τὴν συμφοράν, Οὐδὲ ὁ πατήρ, *φησίν,* ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἰάσεταί σε.

ΠΟΣ. *Θάρρει, ὦ τέκνον· ἀμυνοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς μάθῃ ὅτι, καὶ εἰ πήρωσίν μοι ὀφθαλμῶν ἰᾶσθαι ἀδύνατον, τὰ γοῦν τῶν πλεόντων ὅτι τὸ σῴζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπολλύναι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πρόσεστι· πλεῖ δὲ ἔτι.*

3

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΦΕΙΟΥ

1 ΠΟΣ. *Τί τοῦτο, Ἀλφειέ; μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ἀναμίγνυσαι τῇ ἅλμῃ, ὡς ἔθος ποταμοῖς ἅπασιν, οὔτε ἀναπαύεις σεαυτὸν διαχυθείς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης ξυνεστὼς καὶ γλυκὺ φυλάττων τὸ ῥεῖθρον, ἀμιγὴς ἔτι καὶ καθαρὸς ἐπείγῃ οὐκ οἶδα ὅποι βύθιος ὑποδὺς καθάπερ οἱ λάροι καὶ ἐρῳδιοί; καὶ ἔοικας ἀνακύψειν που καὶ αὖθις ἀναφανεῖν σεαυτόν.*

ΑΛΦ. *Ἐρωτικόν τι τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ὦ Πόσειδον, ὥστε μὴ ἔλεγχε· ἠράσθης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλάκις.*

ΠΟΣ. *Γυναικός, ὦ Ἀλφειέ, ἢ νύμφης ἐρᾷς ἢ καὶ τῶν Νηρηίδων αὐτῶν μιᾶς;*

μάθῃ ὅτι . . . ὅτι: see App. — **πλεῖ δὲ ἔτι**: cf. Poseidon's remark, *Od.* 5, 290 (see Perrin ad loc.), *ἀλλ' ἔτι μέν μίν φημι ἅδην ἐλάαν κακότητος.*

3

Title: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3, 694–696, Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem | occultas egisse vias subter mare; qui nunc | ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis. Also *Ecl.* 10, 1–5, Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem: | . . . Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos, | Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.

1. **μόνος τῶν ἄλλων**: like the use of the superlative. Cf. *Od.* 5, 105 *ὀϊζυρώτατον ἄλλων.* This idiom is a survival of the old ablatival gen. used with sup. as well as comp. (Perrin ad loc.). So less often in Latin, e.g. Tac. *Agric.* 34 hi ceterorum Britannorum

ΑΛΦ. Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ πηγῆς, ὦ Πόσειδον.

ΠΟΣ. Ἡ δέ σοι ποῦ τῆς γῆς αὕτη ῥεῖ;

ΑΛΦ. Νησιῶτίς ἐστι Σικελή· Ἀρέθουσαν αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν.

2 ΠΟΣ. Οἶδα οὐκ ἄμορφον, ὦ Ἀλφειέ, τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν, ἀλλὰ διαυγής τέ ἐστι καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ ἀναβλύζει καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιπρέπει ταῖς ψηφίσιν ὅλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαινόμενον ἀργυροειδές.

ΑΛΦ. Ὡς ἀληθῶς οἶσθα τὴν πηγήν, ὦ Πόσειδον· παρ' ἐκείνην οὖν ἀπέρχομαι.

ΠΟΣ. Ἀλλ' ἄπιθι μὲν καὶ εὐτύχει ἐν τῷ ἔρωτι· ἐκεῖνο δέ μοι εἰπέ, ποῦ τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν εἶδες αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀρκὰς ὤν, ἡ δὲ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐστίν;

ΑΛΦ. Ἐπειγόμενόν με κατέχεις, ὦ Πόσειδον, περίεργα ἐρωτῶν.

ΠΟΣ. Εὖ λέγεις· χώρει παρὰ τὴν ἀγαπωμένην, καὶ ἀναδὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ξυναναμίγνυσο τῇ πηγῇ καὶ ἓν ὕδωρ γίγνεσθε.

fugacissimi. — **Νησιῶτις**: i.e. in Ortygia. Paus., 5, 7, 2, accepts the whole story — *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀπιστήσω* — and quotes a Delphic oracle to prove it.

2. **διὰ καθαροῦ ἀναβλύζει**: *bubbles up through a pure subsoil* or, perhaps, *sends up its stream through the* (*pool of*) *pure water.* — **ἐπιπρέπει ταῖς ψηφίσιν**: *lends beauty to the pebbles, appearing all silvery-white above* (i.e. *because of*) *them;* on this use of *ἐπιπρέπει* cf. *D. Mar.* 1, 1 *ἐπιπρέπει τῷ μετώπῳ*, and ibid. 3 *ἐπιπρέπῃ αὐτῷ*. If used in the other meaning, tr. *is made conspicuous by the* (*background of*) *pebbles.* A fountain in the Mediterranean countries was a pilgrim's shrine: witness Horace's Bandusian fount. The modern visitor to Syracuse finds the site of the fountain surrounded by papyrus plants, but Arethusa, betrayed by an earthquake, now "blends with the brackish Dorian stream." — **ἓν ὕδωρ**: cf. Shelley, *Arethusa:*

And now from their fountains
In Enna's mountains,
Down one vale where the morning basks,
Like friends once parted
Grown single-hearted,
They ply their watery tasks.

— **ἀγαπωμένην**: *beloved*, like *φιλῶ* or even *ἐρῶ*. So in Mod. Grk., e.g. Byron's *Ζωή μου σᾶς ἀγαπῶ*. See L. & S. s.v. *ἀγαπῶ* and Thayer, N.T. Lex., s.v. *φιλῶ*.

5

ΠΑΝΟΠΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΛΗΝΗΣ

1 ΠΑΝ. Εἶδες, ὦ Γαλήνη, χθὲς οἷα ἐποίησεν ἡ Ἔρις παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, διότι μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκλήθη ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον;

ΓΑΛ. Οὐ ξυνειστιώμην ὑμῖν ἔγωγε· ὁ γὰρ Ποσειδῶν ἐκέλευσέ με, ὦ Πανόπη, ἀκύμαντον ἐν τοσούτῳ φυλάττειν τὸ πέλαγος. τί δ' οὖν ἐποίησεν ἡ Ἔρις μὴ παροῦσα;

ΠΑΝ. Ἡ Θέτις μὲν ἤδη καὶ ὁ Πηλεὺς ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐς τὸν θάλαμον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παραπεμφθέντες, ἡ Ἔρις δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ λαθοῦσα πάντας—ἐδυνήθη δὲ ῥᾳδίως, τῶν μὲν πινόντων, ἐνίων δὲ κροτούντων ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι κιθαρίζοντι ἢ ταῖς Μούσαις ᾀδούσαις προσεχόντων τὸν νοῦν — ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὸ ξυμπόσιον μῆλόν τι πάγκαλον, χρυσοῦν ὅλον, ὦ Γαλήνη· ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ "ἡ καλὴ λαβέτω." κυλινδούμενον δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ἧκεν
2 ἔνθα Ἥρα τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ κατεκλίνοντο. κἀπειδὴ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἀνελόμενος ἐπελέξατο τὰ γεγραμμένα, αἱ μὲν Νηρηίδες ἡμεῖς ἀπεσιωπήσαμεν· τί γὰρ ἔδει ποιεῖν ἐκείνων παρουσῶν; αἱ δὲ ἀντεποιοῦντο ἑκάστη καὶ αὑτῆς εἶναι τὸ μῆλον ἠξίουν, καὶ εἰ μή γε ὁ Ζεὺς διέστησεν αὐτάς, καὶ ἄχρι χειρῶν ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα προὐχώρησεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος, Αὐτὸς

5

Title: cf. Milton's *Lycidas:*

The air was calm, and on the level brine
Sleek Panope with all her sisters played.

1. Ἔρις: cf. Tennyson's *Oenone:* "The Abominable, that uninvited came." — **διότι μή**: see Introd. 39 (*c*). — **τι πάγκαλον**: *one of your perfect beauties.* — **ἐπεγέγραπτο**: *there was written on it.* — **κατεκλίνοντο**: the goddesses were superior to the convention that prescribed for respectable women a sitting posture at meals. Cf. *Symp.* 8, where the words οὐκ ὀλίγαι οὖσαι forbid the conclusion that there was room for them to recline on the *one bench* allotted to their use, and see Gulick, p. 123, and Gardner and Jevons, p. 349.

2. ἐπελέξατο: Ionic for ἀνέγνω. Cf.

μὲν οὐ κρινῶ, φησί, περὶ τούτου — καίτοι ἐκεῖναι αὐτὸν δικάσαι ἠξίουν — ἄπιτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἴδην παρὰ τὸν Πριάμου παῖδα, ὃς οἶδέ τε διαγνῶναι τὸ κάλλιον φιλόκαλος ὤν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνος κρίναι κακῶς.

ΓΑΛ. Τί οὖν αἱ θεαί, ὦ Πανόπη;

ΠΑΝ. Τήμερον, οἶμαι, ἀπίασιν ἐς τὴν Ἴδην, καί τις ἥξει μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν κρατοῦσαν.

ΓΑΛ. Ἤδη σοί φημι, οὐκ ἄλλη κρατήσει τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγωνιζομένης, ἢν μὴ πάνυ ὁ διαιτητὴς ἀμβλυώττῃ.

6

ΤΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ, ΑΜΥΜΩΝΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

1 ΤΡΙΤ. Ἐπὶ τὴν Λέρναν, ὦ Πόσειδον, παραγίνεται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὑδρευσομένη παρθένος, πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα· οὐκ οἶδα ἔγωγε καλλίω παῖδα ἰδών.

ΠΟΣ. Ἐλευθέραν τινά, ὦ Τρίτων, λέγεις, ἢ θεράπαινά τις ὑδροφόρος ἐστίν;

ΤΡΙΤ. Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐκείνου θυγάτηρ, μία τῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ αὐτή, Ἀμυμώνη τοὔνομα· ἐπυθόμην γὰρ ἥτις καλοῖτο καὶ τὸ γένος. ὁ Δαναὸς δὲ σκληραγωγεῖ

V. H. B 36. — **διαιτητής**: *D. Deor.* 20, entitled Θεῶν Κρίσις — for which this may be considered a first sketch — furnished Hans Sachs material for his *Judgment of Paris*. Cf. Introd. p. xxii f.

6

Title: for story see Class. Dict. s.vv. "Danaus"; "Aegyptus"; "Amymone." See also the fresco still in situ in the House of the Vettii in Pompeii, discovered in 1894–1895. Cf. Mau's *Pompeii*, p. 323.

1. **Λέρναν**: situated some five miles south of Argos on the west side of the Bay of Argolis directly opposite Nauplia. — **ὑδρευσομένη**: slaves, when available, were the water-carriers; but so also were the women of the citizen class (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 327 ff.) and, in heroic times, even princesses (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, 357). See note on *Vit. Auct.* 7. — **τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου**: i.e. Danaus brother of Aegyptus.

τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ αὐτουργεῖν διδάσκει καὶ πέμπει ὕδωρ τε ἀρυσομένας καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύει ἀόκνους εἶναι αὐτάς.

2 ΠΟΣ. Μόνη δὲ παραγίνεται μακρὰν οὕτω τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς Λέρναν;

ΤΡΙΤ. Μόνη· πολυδίψιον δὲ τὸ Ἄργος, ὡς οἶσθα· ὥστε ἀνάγκη ἀεὶ ὑδροφορεῖν.

ΠΟΣ. Ὦ Τρίτων, οὐ μετρίως διετάραξάς με εἰπὼν τὰ περὶ τῆς παιδός· ὥστε ἴωμεν ἐπ' αὐτήν.

ΤΡΙΤ. Ἴωμεν· ἤδη γοῦν καιρὸς τῆς ὑδροφορίας· καὶ σχεδόν που κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὁδόν ἐστιν ἰοῦσα ἐς τὴν Λέρναν.

ΠΟΣ. Οὐκοῦν ζεῦξον τὸ ἅρμα· ἢ τοῦτο μὲν πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν διατριβὴν ὑπάγειν τοὺς ἵππους τῇ ζεύγλῃ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα ἐπισκευάζειν, σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ δελφῖνά μοί τινα τῶν ὠκέων παράστησον· ἐφιππάσομαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τάχιστα.

ΤΡΙΤ. Ἰδού σοι οὑτοσὶ δελφίνων ὁ ὠκύτατος.

ΠΟΣ. Εὖ γε· ἀπελαύνωμεν· σὺ δὲ παρανήχου, ὦ Τρίτων. κἀπειδὴ πάρεσμεν ἐς τὴν Λέρναν, ἐγὼ μὲν λοχήσω ἐνταῦθά που, σὺ δὲ ἀποσκόπει· ὁπόταν αἴσθῃ προσιοῦσαν αὐτὴν —

ΤΡΙΤ. Αὕτη σοι πλησίον.

3 ΠΟΣ. Καλή, ὦ Τρίτων, καὶ ὡραία παρθένος· ἀλλὰ συλληπτέα ἡμῖν ἐστιν.

ΑΜ. Ἄνθρωπε, ποῖ με ξυναρπάσας ἄγεις; ἀνδραποδιστὴς εἶ, καὶ ἔοικας ἡμῖν ὑπ' Αἰγύπτου τοῦ θείου ἐπιπεμφθῆναι· ὥστε βοήσομαι τὸν πατέρα.

ΤΡΙΤ. Σιώπησον, ὦ Ἀμυμώνη· Ποσειδῶν ἐστι.

ΑΜ. Τί Ποσειδῶν λέγεις; τί βιάζῃ με, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλατταν καθέλκεις; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποπνιγήσομαι ἡ ἀθλία καταδῦσα.

2. **ὡς οἶσθα**: i.e. because Homer *Il.* 4, 171 called Argos πολυδίψιον. — **ἐφιππάσομαι**: so παρίππευον is used of a dolphin-mount in *D. Mar.* 15, 3.

3. **τί Ποσειδῶν λέγεις**: the same form, Ποσειδῶν, is retained in quoting. Cf. similar use with the article, e.g. τὸ Ξέρξης *the word Xerxes*, and cf.

ΠΟΣ. Θάρρει, οὐδὲν δεινὸν μὴ πάθῃς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πηγὴν ἐπώνυμόν σοι ἀναδοθῆναι ποιήσω ἐνταῦθα πατάξας τῇ τριαίνῃ τὴν πέτραν πλησίον τοῦ κλύσματος, καὶ σὺ εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ καὶ μόνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐχ ὑδροφορήσεις ἀποθανοῦσα.

8

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΙΝΩΝ

1 ΠΟΣ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Δελφῖνες, ὅτι ἀεὶ φιλάνθρωποί ἐστε, καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἰνοῦς παιδίον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐκομίσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Σκειρωνίδων μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐμπεσόν, καὶ νῦν σὺ τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν τουτονὶ τὸν ἐκ Μηθύμνης ἀναλαβὼν ἐξενήξω ἐς Ταίναρον αὐτῇ σκευῇ καὶ κιθάρᾳ, οὐδὲ περιεῖδες κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἀπολλύμενον.

Peregr. 33 τὸ Τέλει. — **οὐδὲν δεινὸν μή**: *no evil shall befall you;* see examples in GMT. 295, 296. See App. — **πηγήν**: this is a "copious spring" to-day at the modern Μύλοι (Lerna) on the road from Argos to Tripolitza. Amymone alone (μόνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν) among the Danaides was to have a fountain instead of a sieve for her ὑδροφορία. — **εὐδαίμων**: the other exception, Hypermnestra, fares still better. Cf. Horace *Carm.* 3, 11: In omne virgo | nobilis aevum.

8

For the story of Arion read Hdt. 1, 23, 24; Ovid *Fasti* 2, 91–116; Pseudo-Arion *Fragm.* (*Anth. Lyr.* 5); and see H. W. Smyth's *Melic Poets*, pp. 205–208, for discussion of the legend and the authenticity of this fragment attributed to Arion, and for embellishments of the story in later writers.

For the story of "The Boy and the Dolphin" cf. Pliny *Ep.* 9, 33. For a representation of a comic chorus mounted on dolphins see Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, fig. 1428.

1. **τὸ τῆς Ἰνοῦς παιδίον**: Melicertes-Palaemon. The names both of mother and son suffered a sea-change. Cf. *Od.* 5, 333:

τὸν δὲ ἴδεν Κάδμου θυγάτηρ καλλίσφυρος Ἰνώ,
Λευκοθέη, ἣ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα.

The rider on the bronze statuette at Taenarum has been by some critics identified with this Melicertes-Palaemon who was carried by dolphins to the Isthmus, and by others with Taras, son of Poseidon, who rode safely on a dolphin from Taenarum to Tarentum (see Smyth, l.c.). — **ἐκομίσατε**: so in Bacchyl. 17, 97–100 the dolphins bear Theseus swiftly to the halls of his father Poseidon: φέρον δὲ δελφῖνες ἁλιναιέται μέγαν θοῶς Θησέα πατρὸς ἱππίου δόμον. — **τὸν ἐκ Μηθύμνης**: Arion. — **ἐξενήξω**: see *V. H.* B 47. — **αὐτῇ σκευῇ καὶ κιθάρᾳ**:

ΔΕΛΦ. Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Πόσειδον, εἰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὖ ποιοῦμεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰχθύες γενόμενοι.

ΠΟΣ. Καὶ μέμφομαί γε τῷ Διονύσῳ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς καταναυμαχήσας μετέβαλε, δέον χειρώσασθαι μόνον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηγάγετο. πῶς δ' οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίονα τοῦτον ἐγένετο, ὦ Δελφίν;

2 ΔΕΛΦ. Ὁ Περίανδρος, οἶμαι, ἔχαιρεν αὐτῷ καὶ πολλάκις μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὁ δὲ πλουτήσας παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἐπεθύμησε πλεύσας οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Μήθυμναν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἐπιβὰς πορθμείου τινὸς κακούργων ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἔδειξε πολὺν ἄγων χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ἐπεὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἐγένοντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ναῦται· ὁ δὲ — ἠκροώμην γὰρ ἅπαντα παρανέων τῷ σκάφει — Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν δέδοκται, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὴν σκευὴν ἀναλαβόντα με καὶ ᾄσαντα θρῆνόν τινα ἐπ' ἐμαυτῷ ἑκόντα ἐάσατε ῥῖψαι ἐμαυτόν. ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὴν σκευὴν καὶ ᾖσε πάνυ λιγυρόν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ὡς αὐτίκα πάντως ἀποθανούμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν καὶ ἀναθέμενος αὐτὸν ἐξενηξάμην ἔχων ἐς Ταίναρον.

ΠΟΣ. Ἐπαινῶ σε τῆς φιλομουσίας· ἄξιον γὰρ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδέδωκας αὐτῷ ἀκροάσεως.

so in Hdt. l.c. Arion, after putting on *πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν* and taking *τὴν κιθάραν*, stands before the sailors and discourses music and then flings himself into the sea *ὡς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ*. In Ovid l.c. in medias ornatus desilit undas. — **ἐξ ἀνθρώπων . . . ἰχθύες**: cf. *h. Hom.* 7, 51 ff. where the pirates, who had kidnapped Dionysus, are changed by the god into dolphins:

. . . οἳ δὲ θύραζε κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλύοντες
πάντες ὁμῶς πήδησαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, εἰς ἅλα δῖαν,
δελφῖνες δ' ἐγένοντο.

On the Lysicrates monument in Athens we see the metamorphosis half-finished.

2. **Περίανδρος**: Periander, tyrant of Corinth, comes off with credit in this stage of his career, but he fell from grace and was repeatedly displaced from revised lists of the "Seven Sages." — **ἐς τὴν Μήθυμναν**: both Methymna (in Lesbos) and Corinth, with her twofold water-ways, had legends to tell of grateful dolphins. See Smyth, l.c. — **οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Μήθυμναν**: in Hdt. 1, 24 Arion was on his way back to Corinth from Tarentum. — **ἔπεσεν**: see App.

12

ΔΩΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΤΙΔΟΣ

1 ΔΩΡ. Τί δακρύεις, ὦ Θέτι;

ΘΕΤ. Καλλίστην, ὦ Δωρί, κόρην εἶδον ἐς κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβληθεῖσαν, αὐτήν τε καὶ βρέφος αὐτῆς ἀρτιγέννητον· ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ναύτας ἀναλαβόντας τὸ κιβώτιον, ἐπειδὰν πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποσπάσωσιν, ἀφεῖναι ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἡ ἀθλία, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ βρέφος.

ΔΩΡ. Τίνος δὲ ἕνεκα, ὦ ἀδελφή; εἰπέ, εἴ τι ἔμαθες.

ΘΕΤ. Ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀκρίσιος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς καλλίστην οὖσαν ἐπαρθένευεν ἐς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλών· εἶτα, εἰ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, φασὶ δ' οὖν τὸν Δία χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥυῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ' αὐτήν, δεξαμένην δὲ ἐκείνην ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι. τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ, ἄγριός τις καὶ ζηλότυπος γέρων, ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπό τινος μεμοιχεῦσθαι οἰηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄρτι τετοκυῖαν.

2 ΔΩΡ. Ἡ δὲ τί ἔπραττεν, ὦ Θέτι, ὁπότε καθίετο;

12

Title: Doris is either the mother of the Nereids or (as evidently in *D. Mar.* 1) is herself one of the Nereids. Thetis here, calling her by name, seems to address her as sister. For list of the Nereids see Hes. *Theog.* 240 ff.

For Danaë and Perseus see Simonides *Fragm.* 13 and the almost over-beautiful translation of J. A. Symonds (*Greek Poets* c. x); cf. also Horace *Carm.* 3, 16, and William Morris, *The Doom of King Acrisius.* Danaë was the great-granddaughter of Hypermnestra and Lynceus.

1. **χαλκοῦν θάλαμον**: cf. Paus. 2, 23, 7 ὁ χαλκοῦς θάλαμος ὃν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησε. Lucian is perhaps again (see 3, 1) ridiculing Pausanias's credulity. — **κιβωτόν**: *ark;* used of a treasure-chest Lys. 12, 10. Cf. *Philops.* 27 where the sandal was lost ὑπὸ τῇ κιβωτῷ. It is used of Noah's ark Gen. 7, 1; and of the ark of the covenant Heb. 9, 4. The baby Moses, however, Exod. 2, 3, was put εἰς θῖβιν. In Simon. 37, 1 the "carven chest" is λάρνακι δαιδαλέᾳ (cf. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, ad loc.); but λάρναξ is also used, like Noah's κιβωτός, of the ark of Deucalion, e.g. *de D. Syr.* 12.

ΘΕΤ. Ὑπὲρ αὑτῆς μὲν ἐσίγα, ὦ Δωρί, καὶ ἔφερε τὴν καταδίκην. τὸ βρέφος δὲ παρῃτεῖτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν δακρύουσα καὶ τῷ πάππῳ δεικνύουσα αὐτό, κάλλιστον ὄν· τὸ δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν κακῶν ὑπεμειδία πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν. ὑποπίμπλαμαι αὖθις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων μνημονεύουσα αὐτῶν.

ΔΩΡ. Κἀμὲ δακρῦσαι ἐποίησας. ἀλλ' ἤδη τεθνᾶσιν;

ΘΕΤ. Οὐδαμῶς· νήχεται γὰρ ἔτι ἡ κιβωτὸς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σέριφον ζῶντας αὐτοὺς φυλάττουσα.

ΔΩΡ. Τί οὖν οὐχὶ σῴζομεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἁλιεῦσι τούτοις ἐμβαλοῦσαι ἐς τὰ δίκτυα τοῖς Σεριφίοις; οἳ δὲ ἀνασπάσαντες σώσουσι δῆλον ὅτι.

ΘΕΤ. Εὖ λέγεις, οὕτω ποιῶμεν· μὴ γὰρ ἀπολέσθω μήτε αὐτὴ μήτε τὸ παιδίον οὕτως ὂν καλόν.

2. **κάλλιστον ὄν**: this recalls the pathos of *καλὸν πρόσωπον* Simon. 37, 12. — **νήχεται**: *is floating*. Cf. archaic or colloquial English use and also Germ. *es schwimmt*. — **Σέριφον**: this little island nursed Perseus to maturity, and in after days refused submission to Xerxes, but in Roman times degenerated into a penal colony. For the story of Themistocles and the man from Seriphus see Plato *Rep.* 330 A.

14

For the story of Perseus cf. Ov. *Met.* 4,662–751; William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise*, "The Doom of King Acrisius"; Kingsley's *Andromeda* and his admirable juvenile version in *The Greek Heroes*. For an exhaustive comparative study of the whole myth see E. Sidney Hartland's *Legend of Perseus, a Study of Tradition in Story, Custom, and Belief*. Cf. especially vol. III, c. xvi–xviii, "The Rescue of Andromeda," and c. xxi where the author makes an instructive differentiation between the myth-making of savages and of more civilized nations — in this case Japan, Greece, etc.: "We have found," he says, "the Supernatural Birth, the Life-token and the Medusa-witch founded on superstitions common to all mankind and arising in the depths of savagery. The Rescue of Andromeda, on the other hand, appears to be restricted to nations which have attained a certain grade of civilization, and to spring out of the suppression of human sacrifices to divinities in bestial form."

For the word-picture in §§ 2, 3 cf. Lucian's *de Domo* 22 with Blümner's discussion (op. cit., pp. 57, 62, 63, 82) of Lucian's descriptions or imitations of ancient paintings and sculpture. See Introd. to *D. Deor.*, p. 160, and to *D. Mar.*, p. 169. For a comparison of all these scenes with the *μῖμοι* of

14

ΤΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΡΗΙΔΩΝ

ΤΡΙΤ. Τὸ *κῆτος ὑμῶν, ὦ Νηρηΐδες, ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κηφέως θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐπέμψατε, οὔτε τὴν παῖδα ἠδίκησεν, ὡς οἴεσθε, καὶ αὐτὸ ἤδη τέθνηκεν.*

ΝΗΡ. *Ὑπὸ τίνος, ὦ Τρίτων; ἢ ὁ Κηφεὺς καθάπερ δέλεαρ προθεὶς τὴν κόρην ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπιών, λοχήσας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως;*

ΤΡΙΤ. *Οὔκ· ἀλλὰ ἴστε, οἶμαι, ὦ Ἰφιάνασσα, τὸν Περσέα, τὸ τῆς Δανάης παιδίον, ὃ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ ἐμβληθὲν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος ἐσώσατε οἰκτίρασαι αὐτούς.*

ΙΦ. *Οἶδα ὃν λέγεις· εἰκὸς δὲ ἤδη νεανίαν εἶναι καὶ μάλα γενναῖόν τε καὶ καλὸν ἰδεῖν.*

ΤΡΙΤ. *Οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε τὸ κῆτος.*

ΙΦ. *Διὰ τί, ὦ Τρίτων; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σῶστρα ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα ἐκτίνειν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν.*

Herondas see *Bursians Jahresber.* 1901, p. 247.

1. Τὸ κῆτος: the marine divinities — Nereids, Tritons — and the Cetacea may have felt with Hephaestus (Aesch. *Prom.* 39) that blood is thicker than water; but this Nereid's perfunctory indignation at the slaying of this lubberly sea-monster reminds us also of the Seriphian fishermen who, by a kind of totemism, came to identify a certain huge rock-lobster with Perseus himself. If they caught one in their nets it was returned to the sea, if they found one dead they would bury it weeping. See Hartland, op. cit., I, 9; III, 154. The skeleton of this particular *κῆτος*, if we are to believe Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 9, 5 (4), 11, was dug up near Joppa. This would conveniently settle the scene of the rescue, as the petrified carcass would not have drifted far! — **οὔτε . . . καί**: an extension of the usage *οὔτε . . . τε*, e.g. Aesch. *Prom.* 260 *οὔτ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν | καθ' ἡδονὴν σοί τ' ἄλγος.* It is found in Eur. *I. T.* 591 *σὺ . . . οὔτε δυσγενὴς καὶ . . . οἶσθα*, also in *D. Meretr.* 2, 4. — **Ἰφιάνασσα**: Lucian perhaps takes this Nereid's name from *Il.* 18, 46 ff. where Καλλιάνασσα and Ἰάνασσα are given in the list of thirty-three Nereids. Hesiod *Theog.* 243–262 gives fifty daughters of Nereus and Doris, and amongst them a Λυσιάνασσα.

2 ΤΡΙΤ. Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν φράσω τὸ πᾶν ὡς ἐγένετο· ἐστάλη μὲν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰς Γοργόνας ἆθλόν τινα τοῦτον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιτελῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν Λιβύην—

ΙΦ. Πῶς, ὦ Τρίτων; μόνος; ἢ καὶ ἄλλους συμμάχους ἦγεν; ἄλλως γὰρ δύσπορος ἡ ὁδός.

ΤΡΙΤ. Διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος· ὑπόπτερον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἔθηκεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἧκεν ὅπου διῃτῶντο, αἳ μὲν ἐκάθευδον, οἶμαι, ὃ δὲ ἀποτεμὼν τῆς Μεδούσης τὴν κεφαλὴν ᾤχετο ἀποπτάμενος.

ΙΦ. Πῶς ἰδών; ἀθέατοι γάρ εἰσιν· ἢ ὃς ἂν ἴδῃ, οὐκ ἄν τι ἄλλο μετὰ ταύτας ἴδοι.

ΤΡΙΤ. Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προφαίνουσα—τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἤκουσα διηγουμένου αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κηφέα ὕστερον—ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀποστιλβούσης ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κατόπτρου παρέσχεν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Μεδούσης· εἶτα λαβόμενος τῇ λαιᾷ τῆς κόμης, ἐνορῶν δ' ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν ἅρπην ἔχων, ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς, καὶ πρὶν ἀνεγρέσθαι τὰς ἀδελ-
3 φὰς ἀνέπτατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν παράλιον ταύτην Αἰθιοπίαν ἐγένετο, ἤδη πρόσγειος πετόμενος, ὁρᾷ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν προκειμένην ἐπί τινος πέτρας προβλῆτος προσπεπατταλευμένην, καλλίστην, ὦ θεοί, καθειμένην τὰς κόμας, ἡμίγυμνον πολὺ ἔνερθεν τῶν μαστῶν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἰκτίρας τὴν τύχην αὐτῆς ἀνηρώτα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς καταδίκης, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἁλοὺς ἔρωτι—ἐχρῆν γὰρ σεσῶσθαι τὴν παῖδα—βοηθεῖν διέγνω· καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ κῆτος ἐπῄει μάλα φοβερὸν ὡς

2. **τῷ βασιλεῖ**: i.e. Polydectes, king of Seriphus. — **ὑπόπτερον . . . ἔθηκεν**: for this Homeric usage cf. *Od.* 6, 229 *τὸν μὲν . . . θῆκεν μείζονα*, also 18, 195 and *Il.* 6, 139; 9, 483. **τῆς Μεδούσης τὴν κεφαλήν**: see Hartland, op. cit., vol. III, c. xix, xx, "The Medusa-Witch in Märchen" etc. — **ἅρπην**: *falchion*. See Dict. Antiq. s.v. "Falx." Heracles with this slays the Hydra, cf. Eur. *Ion* 191, 192 *Λερναῖον ὕδραν ἐναίρει | χρυσέαις ἅρπαις ὁ Διὸς παῖς.*

καταπιόμενον τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, ὑπεραιωρηθεὶς ὁ νεανίσκος πρόκωπον ἔχων τὴν ἅρπην τῇ μὲν καθικνεῖται, τῇ δὲ προδεικνὺς τὴν Γοργόνα λίθον ἐποίει αὐτό, τὸ δὲ τέθνηκεν ὁμοῦ καὶ πέπηγεν αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλά, ὅσα εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν· ὁ δὲ λύσας τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς παρθένου, ὑποσχὼν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπεδέξατο ἀκροποδητὶ κατιοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ὀλισθηρᾶς οὔσης, καὶ νῦν γαμεῖ ἐν τοῦ Κηφέως καὶ ἀπάξει αὐτὴν ἐς Ἄργος, ὥστε ἀντὶ θανάτου γάμον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα εὕρετο.

4 ΙΦ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ πάνυ τῷ γεγονότι ἄχθομαι· τί γὰρ ἡ παῖς ἠδίκει ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι ἡ μήτηρ ἐμεγαλαυχεῖτο καὶ ἠξίου καλλίων εἶναι;

ΔΩΡ. Ὅτι οὕτως ἂν ἤλγησεν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ μήτηρ γε οὖσα.

ΙΦ. Μηκέτι μεμνώμεθα, ὦ Δωρί, ἐκείνων, εἴ τι βάρβαρος γυνὴ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐλάλησεν· ἱκανὴν γὰρ ἡμῖν τιμωρίαν ἔδωκε φοβηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ παιδί. χαίρωμεν οὖν τῷ γάμῳ.

3. **πρόκωπον**: *drawn*. Also *grasped by hilt* and *hilt-grasping*. Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1651 and 1652, where the old men and Aegisthus make ready for combat:

ΧΟ. εἶα δή, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.
ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀγὼ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.

— **τῇ δὲ προδεικνὺς τὴν Γοργόνα**: in Ovid Perseus fights with his falchion only and makes no use of the Medusa head, although the Medusa head is referred to in another connexion. See Hartland, op. cit., III, 152, for the conjecture that in the original tale Perseus rescues Andromeda on his way to slay Medusa. — **ὅσα εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν**: cf. *de Domo* 22 where the painting is thus described: τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κήτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ἤδη λίθος ἐστί, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἔμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἅρπῃ κόπτεται. — **λύσας τὰ δεσμὰ** κτλ.: almost all of the many antique monuments (except the vases) representing this scene give the details as here described by Lucian. See Blümner, op. cit., pp. 77, 78, and the epigram from Antiphilus (*Anthol.* Lib. 4, Tit. 9, No. 20):

χἀ μὲν ἀπὸ σκοπέλοιο χαλᾷ πόδα σηπάδι νάρκᾳ
νωθρόν· ὁ δὲ μναστὴρ νυμφοκομεῖ τὸ γέρας.

— **ὑποσχὼν τὴν χεῖρα** κτλ.: so in *Char.* 5 Hermes helps Charon up the slippery ascent. — **ἐν τοῦ Κηφέως**: sc. οἴκῳ.

4. **ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν**: so Dem. 18, 23 ὁ μὲν γὰρ (i.e. Philip) ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν αὐτοῦ, and cf. Dem. 16, 1 for παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν.

15

ΖΕΦΥΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΟΥ

1 ΖΕΦ. Οὐ πώποτε πομπὴν ἐγὼ μεγαλοπρεπεστέραν εἶδον ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀφ' οὗ γέ εἰμι καὶ πνέω. σὺ δὲ οὐκ εἶδες, ὦ Νότε;

ΝΟΤ. Τίνα ταύτην λέγεις, ὦ Ζέφυρε, τὴν πομπήν; ἢ τίνες οἱ πέμποντες ἦσαν;

ΖΕΦ. Ἡδίστου θεάματος ἀπελείφθης, οἷον οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο ἴδοις ἔτι.

ΝΟΤ. Περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν γὰρ Θάλατταν εἰργαζόμην, ἐπέπνευσα δὲ καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ὅσα παράλια τῆς χώρας· οὐδὲν οὖν οἶδα ὧν λέγεις.

ΖΕΦ. Ἀλλὰ τὸν Σιδώνιον Ἀγήνορα οἶδας;

ΝΟΤ. Ναί· τὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης πατέρα. τί μήν;

ΖΕΦ. Περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης διηγήσομαί σοι.

ΝΟΤ. Μῶν ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἐραστὴς τῆς παιδὸς ἐκ πολλοῦ; τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ἠπιστάμην.

15

Title: for the story of Europa Lucian had abundant material both in art and literature (cf. Blümner l.c. pp. 78–80). In art two different moments were given. In both types Europa grasps the bull's horn with her left hand, with the other she either draws in her fluttering robe just as in Lucian (e.g. Moschus, *Id.* 1 (2); Ovid *Fasti* 5, 607, and on the Sidonian coins) or, as in Ovid *Met.* 2, 874–5 and in many other representations, altera dorso | imposita est. To this latter class may also (since 1895) be added the very archaic (? ca. sixth century B.C.) Selinus metope, now in Palermo; for a reproduction see Gardner's *Greek Sculpture*, p. 146. The Doric garment is too short to be Ovid's tremulae sinuantur flamine vestes.

1. **οἱ πέμποντες**: the basic meaning *escort* comes uppermost; cf. *πομπή*. — **ἀφ' οὗ**: sc. *χρόνου*. — **Ἐρυθρὰν Θάλατταν**: this in Hdt. included not only the Arabian Gulf (modern Red Sea) but also that part of the Indian Ocean lying between Arabia and Hindustan. Later it included also the Persian Gulf. — **εἰργαζόμην, ἐπέπνευσα**: note tenses. — **οἶδας**: but *οἶσθα* just below, see App.; for form see Introd. 14 (*b*).

ΖΕΦ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν μὲν ἔρωτα οἶσθα, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη
2 ἄκουσον. ἡ μὲν Εὐρώπη κατεληλύθει ἐπὶ τὴν ἠιόνα παίζουσα τὰς ἡλικιώτιδας παραλαβοῦσα, ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ταύρῳ εἰκάσας ἑαυτὸν συνέπαιζεν αὐταῖς κάλλιστος φαινόμενος· λευκός τε γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ κέρατα εὐκαμπὴς καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ἥμερος· ἐσκίρτα οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος καὶ ἐμυκᾶτο ἥδιστον, ὥστε τὴν Εὐρώπην τολμῆσαι καὶ ἀναβῆναι αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, δρομαῖος μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν φέρων αὐτὴν καὶ ἐνήχετο ἐμπεσών, ἣ δὲ πάνυ ἐκπλαγὴς τῷ πράγματι τῇ λαιᾷ μὲν εἴχετο τοῦ κέρατος, ὡς μὴ ἀπολισθάνοι, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ δὲ ἠνεμωμένον τὸν πέπλον ξυνεῖχεν.

3 ΝΟΤ. Ἡδὺ τοῦτο θέαμα εἶδες, ὦ Ζέφυρε, καὶ ἐρωτικόν, νηχόμενον τὸν Δία φέροντα τὴν ἀγαπωμένην.

ΖΕΦ. Καὶ μὴν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡδίω παρὰ πολύ, ὦ Νότε· ἥ τε γὰρ θάλαττα εὐθὺς ἀκύμων ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν γαλήνην ἐπισπασαμένη λείαν παρεῖχεν ἑαυτήν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ θεαταὶ μόνον τῶν γιγνομένων παρηκολουθοῦμεν, Ἔρωτες δὲ παραπετόμενοι μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς ἐνίοτε ἄκροις τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπιψαύειν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἡμμένας τὰς δᾷδας φέροντες ᾖδον ἅμα τὸν ὑμέναιον, αἱ Νηρηίδες δὲ ἀναδῦσαι παρίππευον ἐπὶ τῶν δελφίνων ἐπικροτοῦσαι ἡμίγυμνοι αἱ πολλαί, τό τε τῶν Τριτώνων γένος καὶ

2. τῇ λαιᾷ . . . ξυνεῖχεν: so in Moschus, *Id.* 1 (2), 126 ff. (Ahrens) *τῇ μὲν ἔχεν ταύρου δολιχὸν κέρας, ἐν χερὶ δ' ἄλλῃ | εἴρυε πορφυρέην στολμοῦ πτύχα, ὄφρα κε μή μιν | δεύοι ἐφελκόμενον πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἄσπετον ὕδωρ. | κολπώθη δ' ἀνέμοισι πέπλος βαθὺς Εὐρωπείης.* So in Ovid *Fasti* 5, 607–609 illa iubam (not cornu) dextra, laeva retinebat amictus . . . aura sinus implet (cf. *κολπώθη* of Moschus). In *Met.* 2, 874–875 (see above) the description is different. Tennyson (*Palace of Art*) catches still another moment:

> Or sweet Europa's mantle blew unclasp'd,
> From off her shoulder backward borne:
> From one hand drooped a crocus: one hand grasp'd
> The mild bull's golden horn.

3. ἐρωτικόν: *sentimental.* — **παρίππευον ἐπὶ τῶν δελφίνων**: the blending of

εἴ τι ἄλλο μὴ φοβερὸν ἰδεῖν τῶν θαλαττίων ἅπαντα περιεχόρευε τὴν παῖδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ποσειδῶν ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἅρματος παροχουμένην τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην ἔχων προῆγε γεγηθὼς ὁδοποιῶν νηχομένῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δύο Τρίτωνες ἔφερον ἐπὶ κόγχης κατακειμένην, ἄνθη παντοῖα
4 ἐπιπάττουσαν τῇ νύμφῃ. ταῦτα ἐκ Φοινίκης ἄχρι τῆς Κρήτης ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ μὲν ταῦρος οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπῆγε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ Δικταῖον ἄντρον ἐρυθριῶσαν καὶ κάτω ὁρῶσαν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ἤδη ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἄγοιτο. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐμπεσόντες ἄλλο ἄλλος τοῦ πελάγους μέρος διεκυμαίνομεν.

ΝΟΤ. Ὦ μακάριε Ζέφυρε τῆς θέας· ἐγὼ δὲ γρῦπας καὶ ἐλέφαντας καὶ μέλανας ἀνθρώπους ἑώρων.

sea-horses and other mounts is well illustrated by a vase-painting (Inghirami, *Galleria Omerica* 2, Tav. CLXVI) where three Nereids ride along, one on a horse which, from behind the front legs, tapers off into a scaly tail; a second beast has the horse's upright neck and ears, but the nose and mouth are no longer equine, the scales begin at the jaw, the front legs have given place to fins, the body tapers off in a scaly tail; the third Nereid rides on a fully naturalized dolphin. See notes on pp. 178 and 179 above.

4. **ἐκ Φοινίκης ἄχρι τῆς Κρήτης**: so the Orient was brought into Europe. Cf. Hdt. 1, 2. — **Δικταῖον ἄντρον**: Zeus brings back his bride to his own cradle; see Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 292 note and p. 309. — **μέλανας ἀνθρώπους**: *blackamoors.* Possibly *Hindus*, as Notus had been blowing on India, but the Schol. says: *ὁ γὰρ Νότος ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης πνέει, ἔνθα οἰκοῦσιν οἱ Αἰθίοπες.*

DIALOGI MORTUORUM

INTRODUCTION

The thirty *Dialogues of the Dead* have served, perhaps, more than any or even all of Lucian's other works, to keep alive his popularity. The procession of imitators is well-nigh unbroken.[1] The reasons are obvious. Death is for all men the terminus ad quem, and it piques the imagination. Over the swirling Styx on this pontoon-bridge of dialogues we pass, pausing, as on the painted bridge at Lucerne,[2] to inspect these grim and ghostly vignettes of the "Dance of Death,"[3] while Menippus as *cicerone* explains his new *liberté et fraternité* that awaits us at the unfamiliar inn.

[1] See Introd. pp. xx, xxii, xxiv–xxix, and cf. especially the valuable monograph by Rentsch, *Das Totengespräch in der Litteratur*.

[2] Cf. Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, v:

Elsie. What are those paintings on the walls around us?
Prince Henry. The Dance Macaber!
Elsie. What?
Prince Henry. The Dance of Death.
All that go to and fro must look upon it,
Mindful of what they shall be —

[3] See Introd. p. xx. Hans Holbein's name is conventionally identified with the Dance of Death. Many representations of it have been attributed to him, some correctly, some just as falsely as referring to him the invention of the motif itself. Controversy still exists about the paintings in Whitehall, and as lately as the year 1898 the woodcuts in the original Lyons edition of 1538 have been claimed as his designs. As to the latter, the original drawings, now again brought to light, show that they were not all by one hand and that the designer was not always the draughtsman for the wood-engraver. See *The Nation*, Nov. 19, 1903.

This subject was a favorite decoration for bridges (e.g. the Pont des Moulins at Lucerne); for churches and churchyards (e.g. the Dominican convent at Basel, St. Mary's church at Lübeck, the famous "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo at Pisa); or for houses (e.g. the one at Basel alleged to have been decorated by Holbein, or the frescos said to have been painted by him for Henry VIII in

Most of the dialogues are very short, and the attention is not suffered to wander from the point. The actors are not clothed upon with unnecessary rhetoric, but the snub-nosed skulls still have "speculation in their eyes," the white femora step out bravely, and the vacant ribs re-echo the Cynic's ventriloquism.

Life's futility is presented from various sides. We learn the vanity of riches that yield the Ferryman's fee as their only dividend; we see the frustrated legacy-hunters; see, too, beauty and kisses, flow of rhetoric and flowing beard, pedigree and patrimony, the fair fame of Socrates — all alike — go by the board and drift astern in the boat's livid wake as the passengers prepare to step ashore with naked bones that need fear no nip of Cerberus. Or the fancy changes and the dead arrive before the judge still branded with the stigmata of sins for which they are to suffer, in propria persona, most humanly as they deserve.

The *Dialogues of the Dead* are the scenic application of the lesson of the *Charon* that "one ought to live always with death before one's eyes." But here the disdain for human illusions is dogmatic and harsh.[1] In the *Charon* there is less bitterness, a more humorous common sense; in the *Dialogues of the Dead* the undertone is more trivial, as befits Menippus, the earnest trifler (ὁ σπουδογέλοιος).

About Menippus we know little[2] more than can be inferred from Varro's[3] and from Lucian's writings. The title of Lucian's *Menippus or Necyomantia* is a frank dedication of his work to this mocking Cynic, and so with the companion piece, *Icaromenippus;* while in

the palace of Whitehall and burnt in 1697). Many other representations might be cited, like the "Hans Holbein alphabet," decorations on ladies' fans, etc.

[1] See Croiset, p. 159.

[2] Cf. Croiset, p. 62. Diogenes Laertius in his life of Menippus (Lib. 6, c. 8) has nothing to say to his credit. He tells us that he was a Phoenician slave, then a usurer grown rich; that, cheated of his fortune, he hanged himself; that he produced nothing σπουδαῖον, but that his books are full of mocking; that, inter alia, he wrote a Νέκυια, and that he lived at the same time as Meleager, about 60 B.C. It is most probable that he lived about 250 B.C. See Teuffel, *Römische Lit.*[5], I, § 165, 3.

[3] M. Terentii Varronis *Saturae Menippeae s. Cynicae.* See Teuffel l.c.

these dialogues of the dead Menippus assumes the leading rôle and represents the Cynic phase of Lucian's own philosophy.[1]

It has been fortunate for Lucian that he wrote these dialogues, but it has been a misfortune for him and for his readers that he should have been judged by them so exclusively. Apart from the question of larger opportunity for art in his longer dialogues, he here outdoes himself with a paralyzing negation of ethical effort. His wider outlook elsewhere is the more liberal Epicurean doctrine that the placid recognition of the certainty of death is a practical means for man to guard against all that infringes on liberty or inspires false opinions. But even in that wider outlook he ever seems to miss the nobler humanitarianism that found expression in the age of the Antonines.[2]

[1] See Bolderman, *Studia Lucianea*, p. 81, § 6. Cf. also *Bis Acc.* 33.

[2] Cf. Croiset p. 172; Introd., pp. vii, ix.

ΝΕΚΡΙΚΟΙ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ

4

ΕΡΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΩΝΟΣ

1 ΕΡΜ. Λογισώμεθα, ὦ πορθμεῦ, εἰ δοκεῖ, ὁπόσα μοι ὀφείλεις ἤδη, ὅπως μὴ αὖθις ἐρίζωμέν τι περὶ αὐτῶν.

ΧΑΡ. Λογισώμεθα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ· ἄμεινον γὰρ ὡρίσθαι καὶ ἀπραγμονέστερον.

ΕΡΜ. Ἄγκυραν ἐντειλαμένῳ ἐκόμισα πέντε δραχμῶν.

ΧΑΡ. Πολλοῦ λέγεις.

ΕΡΜ. Νὴ τὸν Ἀιδωνέα, τῶν πέντε ὠνησάμην, καὶ τροπωτῆρα δύο ὀβολῶν.

ΧΑΡ. Τίθει πέντε δραχμὰς καὶ ὀβολοὺς δύο.

ΕΡΜ. Καὶ ἀκέστραν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱστίου· πέντε ὀβολοὺς ἐγὼ κατέβαλον.

ΧΑΡ. Καὶ τούτους προστίθει.

ΕΡΜ. Καὶ κηρὸν ὡς ἐπιπλάσαι τοῦ σκαφιδίου τὰ ἀνεῳγότα καὶ ἥλους δὲ καὶ καλῴδιον, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὴν ὑπέραν ἐποίησας, δύο δραχμῶν ἅπαντα.

ΧΑΡ. Καὶ ἄξια ταῦτα ὠνήσω.

ΕΡΜ. Ταῦτά ἐστιν, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο ἡμᾶς διέλαθεν ἐν τῷ λογισμῷ. πότε δ᾽ οὖν ταῦτα ἀποδώσειν φῄς;

4

1. **τῶν πέντε**: note article: *five, just as I say.* — **ὠνησάμην**: Att. is ἐπριάμην. See Introd. 19. — **ὡς**: cf. Introd. 26. — **ἀνεῳγότα**: Att. is ἀνεῳγμένα. Cf. Schmid, I, 230. — **καὶ ἄξια** κτλ.: *well, you bought* THEM *cheap.* For double meaning of ἄξιος cf. Eng. 'reasonable.'

ΧΑΡ. Νῦν μέν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἀδύνατον, ἢν δὲ λοιμός τις ἢ πόλεμος καταπέμψῃ ἀθρόους τινάς, ἐνέσται τότε ἀποκερδᾶναι παραλογιζόμενον τὰ πορθμεῖα.

2 ΕΡΜ. Νῦν οὖν ἐγὼ καθεδοῦμαι τὰ κάκιστα εὐχόμενος γενέσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπολάβοιμι.

ΧΑΡ. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως, ὦ Ἑρμῆ. νῦν δὲ ὀλίγοι, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἀφικνοῦνται ἡμῖν· εἰρήνη γάρ.

ΕΡΜ. Ἄμεινον οὕτως, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν παρατείνοιτο ὑπὸ σοῦ τὸ ὄφλημα. πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν παλαιοί, ὦ Χάρων, οἶσθα οἷοι παρεγίγνοντο, ἀνδρεῖοι ἅπαντες, αἵματος ἀνάπλεῳ καὶ τραυματίαι οἱ πολλοί· νῦν δὲ ἢ φαρμάκῳ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανὼν ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐξῳδηκὼς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ σκέλη, ὠχροὶ ἅπαντες καὶ ἀγεννεῖς, οὐδὲν ὅμοιοι ἐκείνοις. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν διὰ χρήματα ἥκουσιν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἐοίκασι.

ΧΑΡ. Πάνυ γὰρ περιπόθητά ἐστι ταῦτα.

ΕΡΜ. Οὐκοῦν οὐδ᾽ ἐγὼ δόξαιμι ἂν ἁμαρτάνειν πικρῶς ἀπαιτῶν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα παρὰ σοῦ.

5

ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΜΟΥ

1 ΠΛΟΥΤ. Τὸν γέροντα οἶσθα, τὸν πάνυ γεγηρακότα λέγω, τὸν πλούσιον Εὐκράτην, ᾧ παῖδες μὲν οὐκ εἰσίν, οἱ τὸν κλῆρον δὲ θηρῶντες πεντακισμύριοι;

ΕΡΜ. Ναί, τὸν Σικυώνιον φῄς. τί οὖν;

2. Νῦν . . . ἀπολάβοιμι: later Hermes concedes that a state of peace is preferable, depressing though it be for the Stygian trade, and then again he recurs enviously to the good old times. — **ὡς ἄν**: for use with opt. see Introd. 35 (*b*).

5

Title: for the almost incredible part played by the legacy-hunter (captator) under the Roman empire cf. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, I, 394–400, with the copious citations from Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Petronius, Pliny

ΠΛΟΥΤ. Ἐκεῖνον μέν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ζῆν ἔασον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἃ βεβίωκεν ἐπιμετρήσας ἄλλα τοσαῦτα, εἰ δὲ οἷόν τε καὶ ἔτι πλείω· τοὺς δὲ κόλακας αὐτοῦ Χαρῖνον τὸν νέον καὶ Δάμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κατάσπασον ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντας.

ΕΡΜ. Ἄτοπον ἂν δόξειε τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΠΛΟΥΤ. Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ δικαιότατον· τί γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παθόντες εὔχονται ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ἀντιποιοῦνται οὐδὲν προσήκοντες; ὃ δὲ πάντων ἐστὶ μιαρώτατον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐχόμενοι ὅμως θεραπεύουσιν ἔν γε τῷ φανερῷ, καὶ νοσοῦντος ἃ μὲν βουλεύονται πᾶσι πρόδηλα, θύσειν δὲ ὅμως ὑπισχνοῦνται ἢν ῥαΐσῃ, καὶ ὅλως ποικίλη τις ἡ κολακεία τῶν ἀνδρῶν. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἔστω ἀθάνατος, οἱ δὲ προαπίτωσαν αὐτοῦ μάτην ἐπιχανόντες.

2 ΕΡΜ. Γελοῖα πείσονται, πανοῦργοι ὄντες . . . πολλά. κἀκεῖνος εὖ μάλα διαβουκολεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπελπίζει, καὶ ὅλως ἀσθενοῦντι ἐοικὼς ἔρρωται πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν νέων. οἱ δὲ ἤδη τὸν κλῆρον ἐν σφίσι διῃρημένοι βόσκονται ζωὴν μακαρίαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τιθέντες.

ΠΛΟΥΤ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀποδυσάμενος τὸ γῆρας ὥσπερ Ἰόλεως ἀνηβησάτω, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μέσων τῶν ἐλπίδων τὸν ὀνειροποληθέντα πλοῦτον ἀπολιπόντες ἡκέτωσαν ἤδη κακοὶ κακῶς ἀποθανόντες.

ΕΡΜ. Ἀμέλησον, ὦ Πλούτων· μετελεύσομαι γάρ σοι ἤδη αὐτοὺς καθ᾽ ἕνα ἑξῆς· ἑπτὰ δέ, οἶμαι, εἰσί.

ΠΛΟΥΤ. Κατάσπα, ὁ δὲ παραπέμψει ἕκαστον ἀντὶ γέροντος αὖθις πρωθήβης γενόμενος.

the elder, Tacitus, the younger Pliny, Martial, Juvenal, etc. Also see *Nigr.* 17, *adv. Indoct.* 19, and *D. Mort.* 6–9.

1. **Εὐκράτην**: this is also the name of the rich host in *Gall.* 9 and *Hermot.* 11. — **πεντακισμύριοι**: conventional exaggeration. There were only seven. See sub fin. So in Eng. *a thousand*, and in Lat. sescenti, may be entirely indefinite.

2. **Ἰόλεως**: by the prayers of Hercules ora reformatus primos Iolaus in annos (Ovid *Met.* 9, 399). — **μετελεύσομαι**: for form see Introd. 19.

18

ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΜΟΥ

1 ΜΕΝ. Ποῦ δὲ οἱ καλοί εἰσιν ἢ αἱ καλαί, Ἑρμῆ; ξενάγησόν με νέηλυν ὄντα.

ΕΡΜ. Οὐ σχολή μοι, ὦ Μένιππε· πλὴν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ἀπόβλεψον, ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ἔνθα ὁ Ὑάκινθός τέ ἐστι καὶ Νάρκισσος καὶ Νιρεὺς καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Τυρὼ καὶ Ἑλένη καὶ Λήδα καὶ ὅλως τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάντα κάλλη.

ΜΕΝ. Ὀστᾶ μόνα ὁρῶ καὶ κρανία τῶν σαρκῶν γυμνά, ὅμοια τὰ πολλά.

ΕΡΜ. Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν ἃ πάντες οἱ ποιηταὶ θαυμάζουσι τὰ ὀστᾶ, ὧν σὺ ἔοικας καταφρονεῖν.

ΜΕΝ. Ὅμως τὴν Ἑλένην μοι δεῖξον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν διαγνοίην ἔγωγε.

ΕΡΜ. Τουτὶ τὸ κρανίον ἡ Ἑλένη ἐστίν.

2 ΜΕΝ. Εἶτα διὰ τοῦτο αἱ χίλιαι νῆες ἐπληρώθησαν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἔπεσον Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ τοσαῦται πόλεις ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασιν;

ΕΡΜ. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἶδες, ὦ Μένιππε, ζῶσαν τὴν γυναῖκα· ἔφης γὰρ ἂν καὶ σὺ ἀνεμέσητον εἶναι

τοιῇδ᾽ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·

ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη ξηρὰ ὄντα εἴ τις βλέποι ἀποβεβληκότα τὴν

18

1. **οἱ καλοὶ . . . αἱ καλαί**: 'the beaux and belles.' — **ξενάγησον**: see *Char.* 1. — **κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο**: *in that quarter*, almost as if for ἐκεῖσε, but the attention is arrested *at* rather than directed *towards*. — **Τυρώ**: see *V. H.* B 3. For the others see Class. Dict. — **τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάντα κάλλη**: *all the beauties of the olden time;* not "all the old beauties." — **γυμνά**: see Introd. 23 (*b*), and Schmid, I, 233. — **Τουτὶ τὸ κρανίον** κτλ.: cf. Hamlet, v, 1 "This same skull, sir, was Yorick's skull" (Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, p. 343).

2. **ἔφης**: for form see Introd. 14 (*b*). — **τοιῇδ᾽ ἀμφί** κτλ.: *Il.* 3, 157: with ἀνεμέσητον cf. the Homeric οὐ νέμεσις.

βαφήν. ἄμορφα δῆλον ὅτι αὐτῷ δόξει, ὅτε μέντοι ἀνθεῖ καὶ ἔχει τὴν χροιάν, κάλλιστά ἐστιν.

ΜΕΝ. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ συνίεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ περὶ πράγματος οὕτως ὀλιγοχρονίου καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπανθοῦντος πονοῦντες.

ΕΡΜ. Οὐ σχολή μοι, ὦ Μένιππε, συμφιλοσοφεῖν σοι. ὥστε σὺ μὲν ἐπιλεξάμενος τόπον, ἔνθα ἂν ἐθέλῃς, κεῖσο καταβαλὼν σεαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους νεκροὺς ἤδη μετελεύσομαι.

21

ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΡΒΕΡΟΥ

1 ΜΕΝ. Ὦ Κέρβερε — συγγενὴς γάρ εἰμί σοι κύων καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν — εἰπέ μοι πρὸς τῆς Στυγός οἷος ἦν ὁ Σωκράτης ὁπότε κατῄει παρ' ὑμᾶς· εἰκὸς δέ σε θεὸν ὄντα μὴ ὑλακτεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως φθέγγεσθαι ὁπότ' ἐθέλοις.

ΚΕΡΒ. Πόρρωθεν μέν, ὦ Μένιππε, παντάπασιν ἐδόκει ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ προσώπῳ προσιέναι καὶ προσίεσθαι τὸν θάνατον ἑκὼν καὶ τοῦτο ἐμφῆναι τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ στομίου ἑστῶσιν ἐθέλων, ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέκυψεν εἴσω τοῦ χάσματος καὶ εἶδε τὸν ζόφον, κἀγὼ ἔτι διαμέλλοντα αὐτὸν δακὼν τῷ κωνείῳ κατέσπασα τοῦ ποδός, ὥσπερ τὰ βρέφη ἐκώκυε καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδία ὠδύρετο καὶ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο.

2 ΜΕΝ. Οὐκοῦν σοφιστὴς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς κατεφρόνει τοῦ πράγματος;

ΚΕΡΒ. Οὔκ, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ ἑώρα, κατεθρασύνετο ὡς δῆθεν οὐκ ἄκων πεισόμενος ὃ πάντως ἔδει παθεῖν,

21

1. **μὴ ὑλακτεῖν**: *μή* is quite normal here. Cf. Kühner-Blass^3, II, § 514, 2. — **ἐθέλοις**: for mood see Introd. 35. **ἑκών**: see App. — **τῷ κωνείῳ**: with grim humor Lucian makes the last twinge of the poison anticipate the grip of Cerberus.

2. **Οὔκ, ἀλλ'**: *not that, but.* **ἕως τοῦ**

ὡς θαυμάσωνται οἱ θεαταί. καὶ ὅλως περὶ πάντων γε τῶν τοιούτων εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοιμι, ἕως τοῦ στομίου τολμηροὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι, τὰ δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἔλεγχος ἀκριβής.

ΜΕΝ. Ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς σοι κατεληλυθέναι ἔδοξα;

ΚΕΡΒ. Μόνος, ὦ Μένιππε, ἀξίως τοῦ γένους, καὶ Διογένης πρὸ σοῦ, ὅτι μὴ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἐσῄειτε μηδ' ὠθούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐθελούσιοι, γελῶντες, οἰμώζειν παραγγείλαντες ἅπασιν.

22

ΧΑΡΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ

1 ΧΑΡ. Ἀπόδος, ὦ κατάρατε, τὰ πορθμεῖα.

ΜΕΝ. Βόα, εἰ τοῦτό σοι, ὦ Χάρων, ἥδιον.

ΧΑΡ. Ἀπόδος, φημί, ἀνθ' ὧν σε διεπορθμεύσαμεν.

ΜΕΝ. Οὐκ ἂν λάβοις παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος.

ΧΑΡ. Ἔστι δέ τις ὀβολὸν μὴ ἔχων;

ΜΕΝ. Εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλος τις οὐκ οἶδα, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔχω.

ΧΑΡ. Καὶ μὴν ἄγξω σε νὴ τὸν Πλούτωνα, ὦ μιαρέ, ἢν μὴ ἀποδῷς.

ΜΕΝ. Κἀγὼ τῷ ξύλῳ σου πατάξας διαλύσω τὸ κρανίον.

ΧΑΡ. Μάτην οὖν ἔσῃ πεπλευκὼς τοσοῦτον πλοῦν.

ΜΕΝ. Ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ σοι ἀποδότω, ὅς με παρέδωκέ σοι.

2 ΕΡΜ. Νὴ Δί' ὠνάμην γε, εἰ μέλλω καὶ ὑπερεκτίνειν τῶν νεκρῶν.

στομίου: ἕως, like μέχρι, as prep. c. gen. or with adverb. See L. & S. s.v., I, 2. — **ΚΕΡΒ.**: for identification of Cerberus with Çabalas, one of the two dogs of Yama, the Hindu King of the Dead, see M. Bloomfield, *Cerberus the Dog of Hades*, 1905. — **ὅτι μή**: see Introd. 39 (*b*).

22

1. **ἀνθ' ὧν**: like οὕνεκα, *because*. See H. 999. — **τῷ ξύλῳ**: *with my stick*. An essential part of the Cynic regalia. — **ἔσῃ πεπλευκώς**: see Introd. 20.

2. **Νὴ Δί' ὠνάμην**: *by Zeus, I am in for a fortune*. For aorist of the

ΧΑΡ. Οὐκ ἀποστήσομαί σου.

ΜΕΝ. Τούτου γε ἕνεκα καὶ νεωλκήσας τὸ πορθμεῖον παράμενε· πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅ γε μὴ ἔχω, πῶς ἂν λάβοις;

ΧΑΡ. Σὺ δ' οὐκ ᾔδεις ὡς κομίζεσθαι δέον;

ΜΕΝ. Ἤιδειν μέν, οὐκ εἶχον δέ. τί οὖν; ἐχρῆν διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν;

ΧΑΡ. Μόνος οὖν αὐχήσεις προῖκα πεπλευκέναι;

ΜΕΝ. Οὐ προῖκα, ὦ βέλτιστε· καὶ γὰρ ἤντλησα καὶ τῆς κώπης συνεπελαβόμην καὶ οὐκ ἔκλαον μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβατῶν.

ΧΑΡ. Οὐδὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ πορθμεῖα· τὸν ὀβολὸν ἀποδοῦναί σε δεῖ· οὐ θέμις ἄλλως γενέσθαι.

3 ΜΕΝ. Οὐκοῦν ἄπαγέ με αὖθις ἐς τὸν βίον.

ΧΑΡ. Χάριεν λέγεις, ἵνα καὶ πληγὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ προσλάβω.

ΜΕΝ. Μὴ ἐνόχλει οὖν.

ΧΑΡ. Δεῖξον τί ἐν τῇ πήρᾳ ἔχεις.

ΜΕΝ. Θέρμους, εἰ θέλεις, καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης τὸ δεῖπνον.

ΧΑΡ. Πόθεν τοῦτον ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, τὸν κύνα ἤγαγες; οἷα δὲ καὶ ἐλάλει παρὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἁπάντων καταγελῶν καὶ ἐπισκώπτων καὶ μόνος ᾄδων οἰμωζόντων ἐκείνων.

ΕΡΜ. Ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ Χάρων, ὁποῖον ἄνδρα διεπόρθμευσας, ἐλεύθερον ἀκριβῶς; οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μέλει. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μένιππος.

ΧΑΡ. Καὶ μὴν ἄν σε λάβω ποτέ—

ΜΕΝ. Ἂν λάβῃς, ὦ βέλτιστε· δὶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν λάβοις.

future cf. Gildersleeve, *S. C. G.* 263, and GMT. 61. For ὀναίμην see App. — **ᾔδεις**: see Introd. 14 (*b*). — **μόνος τῶν ἄλλων**: see on *D. Mar.* 3, 1.

3. ἄπαγε . . . βίον: cf. Ar. *Ran.* 177 where the corpse rejects Dionysus's overtures, saying *I'll see myself resurrected first!* ἀναβιῴην νυν πάλιν. — **Χάριεν λέγεις**: *now you are joking!* For accent see on *Vit. Auct.* 3.

30

ΜΙΝΩΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

1 ΜΙΝ. Ὁ μὲν λῃστὴς οὑτοσὶ Σώστρατος ἐς τὸν Πυριφλεγέθοντα ἐμβεβλήσθω, ὁ δὲ ἱερόσυλος ὑπὸ τῆς Χιμαίρας διασπασθήτω, ὁ δὲ τύραννος, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, παρὰ τὸν Τιτυὸν ἀποταθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν γυπῶν καὶ αὐτὸς κειρέσθω τὸ ἧπαρ. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄπιτε κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδίον καὶ τὰς μακάρων νήσους κατοικεῖτε, ἀνθ' ὧν δίκαια ἐποιεῖτε παρὰ τὸν βίον.

ΣΩΣΤ. Ἄκουσον, ὦ Μίνως, εἴ σοι δίκαια δόξω λέγειν.

ΜΙΝ. Νῦν ἀκούσω αὖθις; οὐ γὰρ ἐξελήλεγξαι, ὦ Σώστρατε, πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τοσούτους ἀπεκτονώς;

ΣΩΣΤ. Ἐλήλεγμαι μέν, ἀλλ' ὅρα εἰ καὶ δικαίως κολασθήσομαι.

ΜΙΝ. Καὶ πάνυ, εἴ γε ἀποτίνειν τὴν ἀξίαν δίκαιον.

ΣΩΣΤ. Ὅμως ἀπόκριναί μοι, ὦ Μίνως· βραχὺ γάρ τι ἐρήσομαί σε.

ΜΙΝ. Λέγε, μὴ μακρὰ μόνον, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διακρίνωμεν ἤδη.

2 ΣΩΣΤ. Ὁπόσα ἔπραττον ἐν τῷ βίῳ, πότερα ἑκὼν ἔπραττον ἢ ἐπεκέκλωστό μοι ὑπὸ τῆς Μοίρας;

ΜΙΝ. Ὑπὸ τῆς Μοίρας δηλαδή.

ΣΩΣΤ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ πονηροὶ δοκοῦντες ἡμεῖς ἐκείνῃ ὑπηρετοῦντες ταῦτα ἐδρῶμεν;

30

1. **Σώστρατος**: mentioned (*Alex.* 4) in the list of knaves, traitors, etc., whom Alexander the False Prophet rivalled. — **Πυριφλεγέθοντα**: cf. Plato *Phaedo* 113 B. For the whole context read Plato *Rep.* 614–621 and Pind. *Ol.* 2. For the τύραννος note *Rep.* 615 C D, and, for Plato's solution of the problem of Fate vs. Free Will, *Rep.* 617 E. For the Fates read Lucian's *Cataplus* and *Jupp. Conf.*, esp. 15–18. — **ἀνθ' ὧν**: see on 22, 1. — **οὐ γὰρ ἐξελήλεγξαι**: *have you not been conclusively convicted?*

2. **δηλαδή**: note the Platonic coloring throughout. — **Κλωθοῖ, . . . γεννη-**

ΜΙΝ. Ναί, τῇ Κλωθοῖ, ἣ ἑκάστῳ ἐπέταξε γεννηθέντι τὰ πρακτέα.

ΣΩΣΤ. Εἰ τοίνυν ἀναγκασθείς τις ὑπ' ἄλλου φονεύσειέ τινα οὐ δυνάμενος ἀντιλέγειν ἐκείνῳ βιαζομένῳ, οἷον δήμιος ἢ δορυφόρος, ὃ μὲν δικαστῇ πεισθείς, ὃ δὲ τυράννῳ, τίνα αἰτιάσῃ τοῦ φόνου;

ΜΙΝ. Δῆλον ὡς τὸν δικαστὴν ἢ τὸν τύραννον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ξίφος αὐτό· ὑπηρετεῖ γὰρ ὄργανον ὂν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν τῷ πρώτῳ παρασχόντι τὴν αἰτίαν.

ΣΩΣΤ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Μίνως, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιδαψιλεύει τῷ παραδείγματι. ἢν δέ τις ἀποστείλαντος τοῦ δεσπότου ἥκῃ αὐτὸς χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον κομίζων, τίνι τὴν χάριν ἰστέον ἢ τίνα εὐεργέτην ἀναγραπτέον;

ΜΙΝ. Τὸν πέμψαντα, ὦ Σώστρατε· διάκονος γὰρ ὁ κομίσας ἦν.

3 ΣΩΣΤ. Οὐκοῦν ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἄδικα ποιεῖς κολάζων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ὧν ἡ Κλωθὼ προσέταττε, καὶ τούτους τιμῶν τοὺς διακονησαμένους ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖνό γε εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τις ἄν, ὡς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν δυνατὸν ἦν τοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀνάγκης προστεταγμένοις.

ΜΙΝ. Ὦ Σώστρατε, πολλὰ ἴδοις ἂν καὶ ἄλλα οὐ κατὰ λόγον γιγνόμενα, εἰ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζοις. πλὴν ἀλλὰ σὺ τοῦτο ἀπολαύσεις τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, διότι οὐ λῃστὴς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφιστής τις εἶναι δοκεῖς. ἀπόλυσον αὐτόν, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ μηκέτι κολαζέσθω. ὅρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νεκροὺς τὰ ὅμοια ἐρωτᾶν διδάξῃς.

θέντι: cf. *Od.* 7, 196 f. *ἅσσα οἱ αἶσα κατὰ Κλῶθές τε βαρεῖαι | γιγνομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.* — **τὸ ξίφος αὐτό**: at the *Bouphonia* the priest fled after striking the ox, and the ax itself was tried and acquitted; see Paus. 1, 24, 4 and 1, 28, 10–11, where we hear also of trials of "iron and other lifeless objects" for homicide, and how Cambyses was accidentally killed by his own sword with which he had killed Apis (Hdt. 3, 29 and 64). But cf. Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. "Dipolia."

3. **διότι**: see App.

THE LIFE'S-END OF PEREGRINUS[1]

INTRODUCTION

In this letter to his friend Cronius Lucian touches on more than one topic of vital interest to modern society, and on several which are important in estimating Greek and Roman life of his own day. He also makes casual allusion to matters that occupy the attention of the archaeologist and antiquarian.[2]

Lucian in this letter is the pamphleteer, bitter and prejudiced, but he gives us a glowing, vigorous picture of the second-century crowd, its foibles and its life. Unfortunately, as in his account of *Alexander the False Prophet* or in the *Complete Rhetorician* or in

[1] This quaint title is taken from Tooke.

[2] Various parallels to Hindu thought and customs are suggested by the *Peregrinus*. Professor C. R. Lanman calls attention to the following among others:

For the rites etc. in connection with the self-burning (§§ 25, 27, 36, 39) and for the post-mortem reappearance of Peregrinus ἐν λευκῇ ἐσθῆτι, § 40, cf. the Skt. epic *Rāmāyana*, 3, 5, where the flame feeds on Çarabhañga's "skin, blood, flesh, and bones" but he rises anew radiant and transformed, "far-shining in his bright attire."

On the "dissolution into vapors" in § 30 cf. Lanman's *Sanskrit Reader*, on *Rigveda* 10, 16, with citations, p. 379.

On the mystic meaning of *the South* § 36, it is to be noted that Yama — the first man who died and found out for all men the pathway "to a distant home, a dwelling-place secure" — conducts souls to the "Blessed Fathers" in *the south*, the region of the Manes. See *Atharvaveda* 18. 3, 13; 4, 40, 2. So the monthly offerings (*çrāddhas*) to the Manes are performed in such a way that they *end in the south.* (Manu's Laws, 3, 214). The invoking of the δαίμονες is in accord with Hindu thought; e.g., the liturge in Hiraṇyakeçin's Gṛhya-sūtra 2, 10[6] (see F. Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* XXX, p. 226), after inviting the Manes, sprinkles water towards the south, saying: "Divine waters, send us Agni."

The νεκράγγελοι and νερτεροδρόμοι in § 41 may be an echo of Yama's messengers that has reached Lucian. See *Atharvaveda* 18, 2, 27 and H. C. Warren's *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 225–262.

the *Uneducated Bibliomaniac*, his very vividness is inspired by an animosity that is all too evident, and the reader by a natural reaction may be led to make even too large an allowance for the personal equation. Lucian holds a brief against this Peregrinus, afterwards called Proteus, and like a criminal lawyer pursues him relentlessly. With Lucian we review his career, sketched in no flattering terms. First, debauched as a youth; then guilty himself of assorted crimes; he crowns it all, we are told, by killing his aged father to anticipate the inheritance; brought to trial for parricide, he adroitly eludes punishment by making over his patrimony to the commonwealth,[1] and, instead of conviction as a criminal, is hailed as a public benefactor and a patriot; next he avails himself of the communism of the Christians to secure a livelihood, and for a time is held in high honor and supported by these simple dupes, as Lucian deems them; in time, transgressing certain laws or customs of the Christians also, he is excommunicated by the church and now seeks by an action of replevin, at the expense of his townspeople, to reinstate himself in his forfeited inheritance; failing to obtain approval for this from the Roman government, he betakes himself to the Cynics and outdoes them all by his squalor and excesses;[2] and finally, when every other avenue to notoriety is closed, commits suicide in the most theatrical style after duly advertising the drama at the previous Olympic festival.

Through this labyrinth of a life filled, according to Lucian, with crimes and follies, the guiding thread that brings us into the open — that makes the most selfish of lives consistent with a voluntary death as a would-be martyr — is his itching greed for notoriety, which grew with his growth and finally triumphed over his cowardice. Even for Lucian himself, however, the thread seems to break off just here, and, grudging him the fortitude of the suicide, he

[1] His birthplace was Parium on the Hellespont.

[2] If the *Demonax* is not spurious, the allusion there to Peregrinus might seem like a milder judgment by Lucian himself; but as a matter of fact it brings what was really philosophic and ideal into sharp contrast with what was merely material in the Cynic creed; cf. *Demonax* 21 *Περεγρίνου δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγέλα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσέπαιζε, καὶ λέγοντος, Δημῶναξ, οὐ κυνᾷς, ἀπεκρίνατο, Περεγρῖνε, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίζεις.*

hints that Peregrinus expected to be held back with main force by the faithful pack of philosophers. The leaders of the Cynics, however, insisted that he should complete his programme, knowing well that to pick his bones as a martyr would be worth more than all his now discredited barking.

Is Lucian fair enough even for the purposes of a satirist? It is largely a question of fact about the details of this biography, and sworn testimony is not forthcoming. Bernays, in his treatise on Lucian and the Cynics,[1] calls attention to the fact that publicly solemnized suicides were not unknown; and he has also given [2] good reason to believe that Theagenes, the δευτεραγωνιστής of the drama, is grossly maligned by Lucian. The assertions about Peregrinus, too, and the estimate of his character, are implicitly contradicted by Aulus Gellius, a contemporary of Lucian — and a pupil of Herodes Atticus, whom we find Peregrinus vilifying both here (see § 19) and in the narrative of Philostratus.[3] Gellius calls him virum gravem et constantem and speaks [4] of having often heard many helpful and noble discourses from his lips. But he does not see fit to demonstrate that his practices and his preaching agreed. He simply represents him as a well-known Cynic philosopher whose fair words were a sufficient index to his character. Lucian, on the other hand, assumes that greed for notoriety was the controlling factor and that all his actions are to be interpreted as contributory to this and this alone. Hence, even if we admit the credibility of the details which he gives us, we still feel an underlying distrust of our author's analysis of human nature. It

[1] *Lukian und die Kyniker*, p. 58. [2] Op. cit., pp. 14 ff.

[3] Lucian's account, § 19, of Peregrinus's blunder in criticizing Atticus, and his palinode § 20, may or may not go back to a common source with the following from Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 2, 1, 33 (Didot edit.): ἐπηκολούθει δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ κακῶς ἀγορεύων αὐτὸν ἡμιβαρβάρῳ γλώττῃ· ἐπιστραφεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης "ἔστω," ἔφη, "κακῶς με ἀγορεύεις, πρὸς τί καὶ οὕτως;" ἐπικειμένου δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ταῖς λοιδορίαις, "γεγηράκαμεν," ἔφη, "σὺ μὲν κακῶς με ἀγορεύων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούων." The scene of this is laid in Athens, and Philostratus may have adapted it from Lucian, whom, strangely enough, he ignores in his *Vitae Sophistarum*.

[4] *Noctes Atticae* 12, 11: Cum ad eum frequenter ventitaremus, multa hercle dicere eum utiliter et honeste audivimus.

does not seem to occur to him that man is after all a complex being and that "human life cannot be reduced to a mathematical demonstration."[1] This intolerant enthusiasm of prejudgment we must bear in mind in estimating all of Lucian's personal satires.

The fact of Peregrinus's suicide is well enough established. Athenagoras, his contemporary, refers, as to a well-known circumstance, to his having flung himself into the fire;[2] Tertullian also, among the Christian fathers, though probably a mere boy in the year 165 or 169, alludes[3] to his suicide on the pyre as recent; Philostratus, who was probably about twenty at the close of the century, in his account[4] of Herodes Atticus, speaks of "the dog Proteus" as being of so strenuous a philosophy as to fling himself into fire at Olympia; later, about the end of the third century, the historian Eusebius in his *Chronicon*[5] refers to his self-immolation and fixes the date as the 236th Olympiad;[6] later still, in the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus — who had a reputation for accuracy if not for stylistic charm — to illustrate his approval of the constancy of a contemporary philosopher Simonides, says (*Res Gestae*, bk. 29, p. 417, edit. of 1609) that he met with great firmness his execution by burning, "escaping from life as from a mad mistress," and adds: "Peregrinum illum imitatus Protea cognomine philosophum clarum: qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiae quinquennali certamine sub Graeciae conspectu totius, ascenso rogo quem ipse construxit,

[1] Croiset, op. cit., p. 99.

[2] Cf. *Supplicatio pro Christianis* 26 (131) τοῦτον δ' (i.e. Proteus) οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ῥίψαντα ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν.

[3] Cf. *ad Martyras*, c. 4: Minus fecerunt philosophi. Heraclitus qui se bubulo stercore oblitum exussit. Item Empedocles qui in ignes Aetnaei montis desiluit, et Peregrinus qui non olim se rogo immisit.

[4] Cf. *Vit. Soph.* 2, 1, 33 (Didot edit.) ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν οὕτω θαρραλέως φιλοσοφούντων ὁ Πρωτεὺς οὗτος, ὡς καὶ ἐς πῦρ ἑαυτὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ῥῖψαι.

[5] Preserved by Jerome in a Latin tr. Cf. fol. 91 of Stephanus edit., Parisiis 1518. The text is abbreviated (and spelled) thus: Oly. 236 | Apud Pisas pegrinus Phūs: rogo quē ex lignis cōposuerat incenso | semet superiecit.

[6] See below, p. 206, for date.

flammis absumptus est." This account, which by the word *ascenso* differs from Lucian's as well as from the others just cited, suggests the dignified self-control of a Brahman,[1] and might seem to reinforce the opinion of Aulus Gellius. But the date is too late for it to have independent worth as even the disciples' version, against the agreement of contemporary accounts.

Among modern commentators, Wieland the famous translator, or paraphraser, of Lucian took up the defence of Peregrinus (see above, Introd. p. xxviii), and Bernays in his elaborate discussion of Lucian's relation to the Cynics declares emphatically that the picture is a caricature.

Croiset, too, in his admirable and sympathetic analysis of Lucian's limitations and the prejudices that hamper the satirist, is of opinion that Peregrinus was "a sincere fanatic." This is the view taken by Zeller in an interesting article comparing Alexander the False Prophet and Peregrinus.[2] With this interpretation in mind we shall be inclined to make large allowance for exaggeration, but we can nevertheless sympathize with our author's vigorous attack on a fanaticism inlaid upon vanity and a greed for notoriety; we shall perhaps even find little to choose between this and the consistent charlatanry of Alexander.

The Cynics. — Lucian's shift from his apparent[3] earlier approval of Cynicism (as, for example, in the character of Menippus[4]) to the unsparing bitterness of these later pieces may not require further explanation than his maturing ethical sense and his hatred of all shams, especially when veiled in the cloak of a false philosopher. We must remember, too, his native incapacity to appreciate any system of philosophy (see Introd. pp. ix, xiii). To his readers

[1] See below, § 25 note.

[2] *Alexander und Peregrinus. Ein Betrüger und ein Schwärmer*, by Eduard Zeller. Deutsche Rundschau, Januar, 1877.

[3] Croiset, op. cit., p. 146, concludes that Lucian never really approved of the Cynics, only tipped his darts with the venom of their acerbity. Some of their tenets, however, may easily have appealed to him — such as their rejection of polytheism, even when he refused to accept the tendency to monotheism. Cf. Bernays, pp. 31 and 32.

[4] See Introd. to *Vit. Auct.*, p. 91, and Introd. to *D. Mort.*, p. 189.

it may easily seem that all philosophers in his day were false philosophers.

The Christians. — Lucian's biography of Peregrinus leads him incidentally to speak of the Christians. His testimony, certainly not partial to say the least, is of great interest as confirming the accounts in the New Testament or the claims made by Christian writers such as Justin Martyr. The genuine and self-denying communism of the early Christians; their loyal devotion to an imprisoned member; their care for widows and orphans; their worship of their Founder; their indifference to worldly interests and to martyrdom itself; their settled belief in immortality — are mentioned, with patronizing contempt it is true, but yet as well-known characteristics of the Christian brotherhood. That the Christian fathers later could not distinguish this half-admiring contempt (see Introd. p. xv) from active hostility; that in the sixteenth[1] century the *Peregrinus* was placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* and hence excluded from nearly all the Lucian Mss. (see App., p. 240); that Suidas on account of these allusions consigned Lucian to a warm nook at Satan's fireside;[2] that the Scholiast at the word *θαυμαστήν*, § 11, bursts out indignantly: *θαυμαστὴν μὲν οὖν, ὦ μιαρέ, καὶ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα θαυμαστός· εἰ καὶ σοὶ τυφλῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀλαζόνι τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀνεπίσκεπτον καὶ ἀθέατον* — all this only proves a lack of discrimination on the part of these worthies respectively.

The Christians, in short, were to Lucian only a part of the background against which he was painting an impostor. He did not find them worthy of attack, his audience was not sufficiently interested in the subject. It is also unnecessary to suppose that by the vulture which he let fly up from the ashes of Peregrinus he was satirizing the dove at the martyrdom of Polycarp.[3] The eagle that flew up at the apotheosis of a Roman emperor or that soared above Plato's tomb would make a better quarry for his satire. It may be mentioned too that the only other allusions to the Christians in

[1] See Bernays, op. cit., p. 88, who points out that the Index was printed later by Pope Alexander VII in 1664.

[2] See below on § 2 for Suidas's words.

[3] Cf. infra on § 39. Also, on *Philops.* 16, Norden, *Kunstprosa*, p. 519, note.

Lucian's genuine[1] writings occur in the companion piece *Alexander Pseudomantis*, § 25 and § 38, where the Christians are classified by Alexander with atheists and Epicureans[2] — which on Lucian's page meant almost a compliment. Thus, in *Alex.* 38, the prophet, in warning off intruders from his mysteries (εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω), leads off with the formula "ἔξω Χριστιανούς," and the congregation makes response: "ἔξω Ἐπικουρείους."

Life of the Times. — The *Peregrinus* gives more than one picture of life in the second century. The preliminary gathering at Elis; the abundant reference to men and monuments at Olympia; Peregrinus in the storm at sea; the visit of his physician; and all the details of his early life, no matter how many are fictitious as applied to this particular man — bring the life of his contemporaries before us, and the modern visitor to Olympia, while making his rounds and repeopling the deserted Altis with ghosts from antiquity, will see Proteus drinking from the marble exedra of Herodes Atticus, or, pale with fear of his approaching death, as he goes forth to Harpina, or again reincarnated from the vulture, standing in shining white in the Echo Colonnade; or Lucian himself walking among the forest of statues enjoying the "best of all the Olympic festivals that he had ever attended," admiring, too, artist-atheist that he was, the Zeus temple with its sculptures and the great statue, or the Hermes of Praxiteles — Hermes who had served him often in so many rôles.

Date. — This letter must have been written shortly after the self-burning of Peregrinus. This probably took place in 169 A.D. Eusebius, to be sure (see above), puts it at the 236th Olympiad, i.e. 165 A.D.[3] But Croiset[4] has shown that it was more probably at the next celebration of the games, in 169 A.D., which seems best to tally with such facts as we can date. Lucian himself tells us, § 35, that he had been present three times before. It is probable that the

[1] The *Philopatris* is undoubtedly spurious, being much later.

[2] The popular cry against the Christians was αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. See Gildersleeve on Just. Mart. *Apol.* A 4, 32.

[3] See also Nissen, *Rh. M.* 43 (1888).

[4] Pp. 17–20, and p. 73.

removal of his family from Syria and the trip recounted in *Alexander Pseudomantis* (Introd. p. xii) and his final voyage across the Aegean in the same vessel with Peregrinus (see *Peregr.* 43) took place in 164. This would seem to make possible the date 165. But Lucian refers to this voyage as something in the past (πάλαι), and what we know of his career will hardly allow us to believe that he could have been at Olympia more than twice before the year 165 A.D. Moreover, his animus against the Cynics in this piece would lead us to prefer the later date, allowing more time between it and the *Dialogues of the Dead*, for example, or the *Menippus*, in which the Cynics are treated with great respect. One additional point may perhaps be raised which confuses rather than helps to make clear. Lucian refers to the announcement of the intended suicide four years in advance as something of which he now learns for the first time on the eve of the cremation. If he had been present four years before in 165 he would have heard of it then. This, however, may best suit the incognito of the speaker in the scene at Elis. It is much more likely that Lucian made a special point of being present as a reporter.

Fugitivi. — As the *Piscator* is a sequel to the *Vitarum Auctio*, the *Vera Historia* to *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda sit*, so in the *Fugitivi*[1] we have a sequel to the *Peregrinus*, written probably in the following year. The success of the *Piscator* as a sequel may have suggested this series also. But there is a fundamental difference. The *Fugitivi* is again a personal attack upon a living Cynic under the pseudonym of Cantharus. It was doubtless written as a retort to maledictions that the *Peregrinus* had called forth, and takes the form of a pamphlet directed against an individual;[2] while the *Piscator* was an apologia, and a general attack on all charlatan philosophers.

Lucian grew more and more bitter against shams. While we feel doubtful about the truth of all the accusations directly launched or made by innuendo against Peregrinus and the unfortunate Cantharus, we are also convinced that the pictures are fairly typical. The amiable praises of Aulus Gellius are too uncritical, and the whitewash of Wieland and Bernays will crack off in patches and leave

[1] See below on § 37. [2] But see Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, II, 308.

us at best but a sorry figure — a morality mummer, a harlequin Heracles.

Lucian, in fine, has given us in this pamphlet a vivid picture of life in the second century. We can see and hear the Cynics, squalid and barking. As we read, the sacred Altis of Olympia with its temples, statues, marble exedra and echo colonnade, the athletes and the thronging crowds gossiping, wrangling, gaping after novelty, come before our eyes. No longer are we walking among the deserted ruins of to-day, and the Kronos hill looks down once more upon a scene peopled with real human beings, living their life for good and ill. But we have turned on too strong a light upon our author. His attitude as a *πολυμισής*[1] has warped his judgment. His hatred of charlatans is controlled by no saving faith in nobility of character. He can no more appreciate the good in a genuine Cynic than in a Stoic.[2] A fanatic is a fraud. His mocking laughter at the close of the *Peregrinus* goes echoing down the ruined colonnade at Olympia as if amongst the ruins of character, human and divine. His satire taints the Alpheus itself with gall so bitter that Arethusa's fount turns brackish,[3] though escaping pure from the encompassing brine of the Sicilian sea.

[1] Cf. *Pisc.* 20.

[2] Cf. *Hermot.* sub fin. and see Introd. p. xviii.

[3] See *D. Mar.* supra, p. 174.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΕΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣ

1 Λουκιανὸς Κρονίῳ εὖ πράττειν. Ὁ κακοδαίμων Περεγρῖνος ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχαιρεν ὀνομάζων ἑαυτὸν Πρωτεὺς αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ Πρωτέως ἔπαθεν· ἅπαντα γὰρ δόξης ἕνεκα γενόμενος καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς τραπόμενος τὰ τελευταῖα ταῦτα καὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο· τοσούτῳ ἄρα τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς δόξης εἴχετο. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπηνθράκωταί σοι ὁ βέλτιστος κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, παρ' ὅσον ὃ μὲν κἂν διαλαθεῖν ἐπειράθη ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας, ὁ δὲ γεννάδας οὗτος τὴν πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πανηγύρεων τηρήσας, πυρὰν ὅτι μεγίστην νήσας ἐνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τοσούτων μαρτύρων καὶ λόγους τινὰς ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς

1. **Κρονίῳ**: a friend of Lucian otherwise unknown, but probably a Platonic philosopher, as the complimentary use of the Platonic formula *εὖ πράττειν*, rather than the Epicurean *χαίρειν*, would seem to indicate. Cf. Bernays, *Lucian und die Kyniker*, pp. 3 and 88. — **εὖ πράττειν**: for the relative merits of the greetings *χαίρειν*, *εὖ πράττειν*, and *ὑγιαίνειν* cf. *Laps. in Sal.*, especially § 4, where Plato's letters are appealed to for the use of *εὖ πράττειν*. Cf. also in the letter to the Platonic Nigrinus, § 1, *Λουκιανὸς Νιγρίνῳ εὖ πράττειν*. In the four *ἐπιστολαὶ Κρονικαί*, however, and in the letter of Odysseus to Calypso, *V. H.* B 35 (q.v.), *χαίρειν* is used. The Cynic "greeting" was in the Scotch sense! *Διογένης ὁ κύων τοῖς καλουμένοις Ἕλλησι οἰμώζειν.* Cf. Bernays, op. cit., p. 96. — **ἀπηνθράκωται**: *has been carbonized.* So used of Empedocles, *D. Mort.* 20, 4, *ἀπηνθράκωσεν αὐταῖς κρηπῖσιν.* And the river-god Xanthus, *D. Mar.* 11, 1, exclaims: *I am charred from head to foot and all of a boil!* *ἀλλ' ἀπηνθράκωμαι ὅλος . . . καὶ ζέω.* — **κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα**: see note on *V. H.* B 21. — **παρ' ὅσον**: *(only) with this slight difference that;* i.e. nisi quod. Cf. *Hist. Conscr.* 18 *ὁρᾷς, ὅμοιος οὗτος ἐκείνῳ, παρ' ὅσον ὃ μὲν Θουκυδίδῃ, οὗτος δὲ Ἡροδότῳ εὖ*

2 Ἕλληνας οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος. πολλὰ
τοίνυν δοκῶ μοι ὁρᾶν σε γελῶντα ἐπὶ τῇ κορύζῃ τοῦ γέροντος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκούω βοῶντος οἷά σε εἰκὸς βοᾶν, ὢ τῆς ἀβελτερίας, ὢ τῆς δοξοκοπίας, ὢ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ λέγειν εἰώθαμεν περὶ αὐτῶν. σὺ μὲν οὖν πόρρω ταῦτα καὶ μακρῷ ἀσφαλέστερον, ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐτό, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἐν πολλῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀκροατῶν εἶπον αὐτά, ἐνίων μὲν ἀχθομένων, ὅσοι ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τοῦ γέροντος· ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐγέλων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ. ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Κυνικῶν ἐγώ σοι διεσπάσθην ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀκταίων ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἢ ὁ
3 ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Πενθεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Μαινάδων. ἡ δὲ πᾶσα τοῦ
πράγματος διασκευὴ τοιάδε ἦν· τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν οἶσθα οἷός τε ἦν καὶ ἡλίκα ἐτραγῴδει παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ τὸν Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν

μάλα ἐῴκει: also *Scytha* 11, *Indoct.* 10, and *de Salt.* 4 (see Sbdt. ad loc.); but in *Hist. Conscr.* 45 tr. *in so far as.* — **οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος**: *not many days before the final venture.* This use of πρό is extensive in late writers, especially with numerals, e.g. infra § 44 πρὸ ἐννέα ἡμερῶν (compare Lat. ante novem dies = novem diebus ante with ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, Thuc. 2, 8, which becomes πρὸ ὀλίγου τούτων). Cf. Du Mesnil, *Grammatica, quam Lucianus secutus est, ratio* (1867), p. 31, and L. & S. s.v.

2. **κορύζῃ**: *drivelling stupidity.* Lucian is fond of this unsavory metaphor. — **ὢ τῆς ἀβελτερίας** κτλ.: *oh, what fatuity! oh, what hunger and thirst after notoriety! oh, — all the rest of the usual exclamations!* — **σὺ μὲν οὖν** κτλ.: for omission of verb see Schmid, I, 423. — **παρὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐτό**: *in the full glare of the fire itself;* for the scene see § 37. The prep. may shift from the meaning *during* (as in §§ 3 and 14) to *at the moment of* (as in Dem. 469, 20 παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρόν). — **ἔτι πρότερον** κτλ.: from this it is inferred that Lucian was himself the unnamed speaker in § 7 ff. — **ὅσοι**: instead of simple relative pron. See Schmid, I, 281. — **διεσπάσθην . . . ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν**: from these words may have been patched together the amiable account of Lucian's death that Suidas repeats; see Introd. p. xiv. Suidas's words are: τελευτῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν λόγος ὑπὸ κυνῶν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλύττησεν. εἰς γὰρ τὸν Περεγρίνου βίον καθάπτεται τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν βλασφημεῖ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁ παμμίαρος. διὸ καὶ τῆς λύττης ποινὰς ἀρκούσας ἐν τῷ παρόντι δέδωκεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι κληρονόμος τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς μετὰ Σατανοῦ γενήσεται.

3. **πράγματος**: editt. generally give δράματος. Cf. infra § 37. See App. — **εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν**: until the end of § 31 the

ἀφικόμην, διὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἀνιὼν ἐπήκουον ἅμα Κυνικοῦ τινος μεγάλῃ καὶ τραχείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τριόδου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιβοωμένου καὶ ἅπασιν ἁπαξαπλῶς λοιδορουμένου. εἶτα κατέληξεν αὐτῷ ἡ βοὴ ἐς τὸν Πρωτέα· καὶ ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὦ, πειράσομαί σοι αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ὡς ἐλέγετο. σὺ δὲ γνωριεῖς δηλαδὴ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς παρα-
4 στὰς βοῶσι. Πρωτέα γάρ τις, ἔφη, κενόδοξον τολμᾷ λέγειν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ πατρῷε Ἡράκλεις. Πρωτέα τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ δεθέντα, τὸν τῇ πατρίδι ἀνέντα πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἐκβληθέντα. τὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐπισημότερον, τὸν αὐτῷ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ δυνάμενον; ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἐξάγειν τοῦ βίου διέγνωκεν ἑαυτόν, εἰς κενοδοξίαν τινὲς τοῦτο ἀναφέρουσιν. οὐ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς οὕτως; οὐ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸς κεραυνῷ; οὐ γὰρ τὰ τελευταῖα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας;

5 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Θεαγένης — τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ κεκραγὼς ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο — ἠρόμην τινὰ τῶν παρεστώτων τί βούλεται τὸ περὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ τί Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Πρωτέα. ὁ δέ, Οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἔφη, καύσει ἑαυτὸν ὁ

scene is laid at Elis. — **διὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου**: see in Paus. 6, 23 a description of the gymnasium in Elis for the training of athletes preliminary to the Olympic games. — **ἀνιών**: see App. — **τραχείᾳ τῇ φωνῇ**: see Introd. 23 (*a*). — **ἁπαξαπλῶς**: cf. *Vit. Auct.* 11. — **αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἐλέγετο**: *his remarks verbatim.*

4. αὐτῷ . . . τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ: the famous statue by Phidias. Cf. § 6 and see representation on coins of Elis in Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xv, 18, 19. — **Ἡρακλῆς**: Heracles, frenzied with pain from the poisoned shirt of Nessus, immolated himself on Mount Oeta and was received into immortality in Olympus amidst peals of thunder. He was the patron saint of the Cynics, and one of them, *Symp.* 16, more pious than polite, drinks the bride's health in the name *Ἡρακλέους ἀρχηγέτου*. — **Ἀσκληπιός**: see above, *D. Deor.* 13. The common text adds *καὶ Διόνυσος*, but Dionysus did not perish by a thunderbolt; his baptism of fire was prenatal. See App.

5. Θεαγένης: see Introd. to *Peregr.* p. 202. — **τί βούλεται**: *what is the meaning of?* Cf. Lat. quid sibi vult (haec res)? — **Οὐκ εἰς μακράν**: cf. *Somn.* 1. —

Πρωτεὺς Ὀλυμπίασι. Πῶς, ἔφην, ἢ τίνος ἕνεκα; εἶτα ὁ μὲν
ἐπειρᾶτο λέγειν, ἐβόα δὲ ὁ Κυνικός, ὥστε ἀμήχανον ἦν ἄλλου
ἀκούειν. ἐπήκουον οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπαντλοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
θαυμαστάς τινας ὑπερβολὰς διεξιόντος κατὰ τοῦ Πρωτέως·
τὸν μὲν γὰρ Σινωπέα ἢ τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ Ἀντισθένη
οὐδὲ παραβάλλειν ἠξίου αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸν Σωκράτην αὐτόν,
ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Δία ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμιλλαν. εἶτα μέντοι ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ
ἴσους πως φυλάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ οὕτω κατέπαυε τὸν λόγον·
6 Δύο γὰρ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὁ βίος ἄριστα δημιουργήματα ἐθεάσατο,
τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ Πρωτέα, πλάσται δὲ καὶ τεχνῖται
τοῦ μὲν Φειδίας, τοῦ δὲ ἡ φύσις. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς
θεοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο οἰχήσεται ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς
ὀρφανοὺς ἡμᾶς καταλιπόν. ταῦτα ξὺν πολλῷ ἱδρῶτι διεξελ-
θὼν ἐδάκρυε μάλα γελοίως καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἐτίλλετο ὑποφει-
δόμενος μὴ πάνυ ἕλκειν, καὶ τέλος ἀπῆγον αὐτὸν λύζοντα
7 μεταξὺ τῶν Κυνικῶν τινες παραμυθούμενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον

Ὀλυμπίασι: *at Olympia.* As a matter of fact this took place out at Harpina (see § 35), and perhaps we should read and translate (see App.) Ὀλυμπιάσι *at the Olympic games.*—**τὸν Σινωπέα . . . Ἀντισθένην . . . Σωκράτην**: the Cynic pedigree. Antisthenes founded and Diogenes developed the school; Crates, the next successor, is also introduced in *D. Mort.* 11. All roads lead to Rome, and such diverse creeds as the Cynic and Epicurean were one-sided perversions or extensions of the wisdom of Socrates. See Introd. to *Vit. Auct.* and *Pisc.*, p. 90.—**οὕτω κατέπαυε** κτλ.: *thus he topped off his harangue.* Contrast with aor. § 33 (sub fin.) and see App.

6. **τοῦ μὲν Φειδίας** κτλ.: this is not out of keeping with the "see Naples and die" feeling with which Phidias's great statue was regarded; e.g. Dion Chrysostomus, *Or.* 12, 51, says of it *τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἄλογον ἂν ἐκπλήξειε τοῦτό γε τῶν ζῴων φύσιν, εἰ δύναιντο προσιδεῖν μόνον.* Cf. also Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, III, 219.—**ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός**: *riding on the (chariot of) fire.*—**ὀρφανοὺς ἡμᾶς καταλιπόν**: this would recall to a Greek audience Plato *Phaedo* 116 A *ἡγούμενοι ὥσπερ πατρὸς στερηθέντες διάξειν ὀρφανοὶ τὸν ἔπειτα βίον.* The self-importance of certain Christian commentators must needs see a reference to S. John 14, 18, but *ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν Πλάτων*, *Philops.* 16, shows how conventional this reference had become.—**λύζοντα μεταξύ**: *sobbing the while.*—**παραμυθούμενοι**: note tense. Theagenes *refused* to be comforted.

ἄλλος εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνει οὐ περιμείνας διαλυθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος,
ἀλλὰ ἐπ' αἰθομένοις τοῖς προτέροις ἱερείοις ἐπέχει τῶν σπον-
δῶν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγέλα καὶ δῆλος ἦν νειό-
θεν αὐτὸ δρῶν, εἶτα ἤρξατο ὧδέ πως· Ἐπεὶ ὁ κατάρατος
Θεαγένης τέλος τῶν μιαρωτάτων αὑτοῦ λόγων τὰ Ἡρακλείτου
δάκρυα ἐποιήσατο, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου
γέλωτος ἄρξομαι. καὶ αὖθις ἐγέλα ἐπὶ πολύ, ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν
8 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπεσπάσατο. εἶτα ἐπιστρέψας
ἑαυτόν, Ἢ τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, χρὴ ποιεῖν ἀκού-
οντα μὲν οὕτω γελοίων ῥήσεων, ὁρῶντα δὲ ἄνδρας γέροντας
δοξαρίου καταπτύστου ἕνεκα μονονουχὶ κυβιστῶντας ἐν τῷ
μέσῳ; ὡς δὲ εἰδείητε οἷόν τι τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι τὸ καυθησό-
μενον, ἀκούσατέ μου ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραφυλάξαντος τὴν γνώμην
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηρήσαντος· ἔνια δὲ παρὰ τῶν πολι-
τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπυνθανόμην καὶ οἷς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι
9 αὐτόν. τὸ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ δημιούργημα,
ὁ τοῦ Πολυκλείτου κανών, ἐπεὶ εἰς ἄνδρας τελεῖν ἤρξατο,
ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μοιχεύων ἁλοὺς μάλα πολλὰς πληγὰς ἔλαβε
καὶ τέλος κατὰ τοῦ τέγους ἁλόμενος διέφυγε ῥαφανῖδι τὴν
πυγὴν βεβυσμένος· εἶτα μειράκιόν τι ὡραῖον διαφθείρας

7. **ἄλλος**: probably Lucian himself; see note § 2. — **τῶν σπονδῶν**: cf. *Il.* 11, 775 *σπένδων αἴθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσι.* Only, instead of sparkling wine, Lucian throws on cold water. — **νειόθεν**: again Homeric reminiscence, cf. *Il.* 10, 10 *ἀνεστενάχιζε νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης.* — **τὰ Ἡρακλείτου . . . Δημοκρίτου**: for the conventional contrast see *Vit. Auct.* 13. — **καὶ αὖθις ἐγέλα**: *and he went on laughing afresh.*

8. **ἐπιστρέψας**: *facing* (*us*) *again.* He had turned away to laugh. — **δοξαρίου**: *a little grain of glory.* Diminutive of contempt. Cf. Lat. gloriola. — **εἰδείητε**: for mood see Introd. 35 (*a*).

9. **ὁ τοῦ Πολυκλείτου κανών**: among the various extant copies of this famous "Doryphorus" of Polycleitus, the marble torso in Berlin (see Fr. Wolters, *Bausteine . . . der griech-rom. Plastik*, 507) gives a higher idea of the original than even the very perfectly preserved statue in the Naples Museum. See discussion of this passage in Blümner's *Arch. Studien*, pp. 22, 23. — **εἰς ἄνδρας τελεῖν**: *to come to man's estate.* — **κατὰ τοῦ τέγους**: *down from the roof.* — **ῥαφανῖδι** *κτλ.*: supplicium deprehensorum in adulterio. —

τρισχιλίων ἐξωνήσατο παρὰ τῶν γονέων τοῦ παιδὸς πενήτων
10 *ὄντων μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἁρμοστὴν ἀπαχθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας. ταῦτα*
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ· πηλὸς γὰρ ἔτι ἄπλαστος
ἦν καὶ οὐδέπω ἐντελὲς ἄγαλμα ἡμῖν ἐδεδημιούργητο. ἃ δὲ
τὸν πατέρα ἔδρασε καὶ πάνυ ἀκοῦσαι ἄξιον· καίτοι πάντες
ἴστε καὶ ἀκηκόατε ὡς ἀπέπνιξε τὸν γέροντα οὐκ ἀνασχό-
μενος αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη ἤδη γηρῶντα. εἶτα ἐπειδὴ
τὸ πρᾶγμα διεβεβόητο, φυγὴν ἑαυτοῦ καταδικάσας ἐπλανᾶτο
11 *ἄλλοτε ἄλλην ἀμείβων. ὅτεπερ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν σοφίαν*
τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξέμαθε περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν ξυγγενόμενος. καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν βρα-
χεῖ παῖδας αὐτοὺς ἀπέφηνε προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ
ξυναγωγεὺς καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὤν· καὶ τῶν βίβλων τὰς

τρισχιλίων: sc. *δραχμῶν*. — **ἐξωνήσατο**: for form see Introd. 19. — **τὸν ἁρμοστήν**: *governor of the province.* This Spartan term was used to represent various Roman officers, e.g. the Triumvirs and the praefecti, as governors of dependent provinces. — **τῆς Ἀσίας**: the Roman province.

10. **ἐδεδημιούργητο**: *had been fabricated in detail;* cf. below *διεβεβόητο*, *had become matter of common report.* Introd. 34 (*a*). — **ἄλλην**: sc. *γῆν*.

11. **Χριστιανῶν**: see Introd. p. xv, and Introd. to *Peregr.* p. 205. — **ἐξέμαθε**: *he had become an expert in.* — **Παλαιστίνην**: although Lucian's Syrian birthplace was far north of Palestine, yet during his stay in Antioch (Introd. p. x) he must certainly have gained some knowledge of the Christians. — **ἱερεῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν**: *priests and scribes,* probably confusing Jews and Christians. — **ξυγγενόμενος**: almost technical, like *συνεῖναι*, of a pupil attending the discourses of a master or the lectures of a sophist. — **προφήτης**: from the earlier and more usual classic meaning *interpreter* (cf. also Exod. 7, 1) the word comes naturally to mean *prophet*, particularly in the LXX and in the New Testament (cf. Thayer's N.T. Lex. s.v.). That the Christians were much exploited by *χριστέμποροι* is illustrated by the directions given in *The Teaching of the Apostles* (see pp. 7 and 8 ed. J. R. Harris, Baltimore 1887): a *προφήτης* or *ἀπόστολος* is to be welcomed for the day; only necessity may detain him during the second day; *τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί*. — **θιασάρχης**: *thiasos-leader.* The *θίασος* was a band marching with dancing and singing, especially in honor of Dionysus. Sometimes it was a religious brotherhood. The leaders were called *ἀρχιθιασῖται*, and the followers *θιασῶται* (cf. *Fugit.* 4). Lucian seems to be responsible for this compound. — **ξυναγωγεύς**: a good Greek

μὲν ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ διεσάφει, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυνέγραφε,
καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι ἡγοῦντο καὶ νομοθέτῃ ἐχρῶντο καὶ
προστάτην ἐπεγράφοντο· τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι σέβουσι
τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι
12 καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσῆγεν ἐς τὸν βίον. τότε δὴ καὶ
συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτή-
ριον, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ ἀξίωμα περιεποίησε
πρὸς τὸν ἑξῆς βίον καὶ τὴν τερατείαν καὶ δοξοκοπίαν ὧν
ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐδέδετο, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφο-
ρὰν ποιούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἐξαρπάσαι πειρώ-
μενοι αὐτόν. εἶτ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἥ γε ἄλλη θεραπεία
πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ἕωθεν
μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γρᾴδια

word (cf. Lys. 12, 43), here transferred to the Jewish meaning. — **ἐξηγεῖτο**: *he expounded.* Primarily used of *verbal* interpretation; cf. *ἐξηγητής*. — **διεσάφει**: *made clear;* or, if written commentary is meant, *annotated.* — **πολλὰς . . . ξυνέγραφε**: many apocryphal writings did not become canonical, and this statement may not be wholly an invention of Lucian's. — **νομοθέτῃ**: *lawgiver.* Again a classic word with both a general and a technical meaning. — **προστάτην**: *protector, patron.* De Soul (see Reitz. ad loc.) says: Apud Cyrillum Cat. 6 Petrus et Paullus *τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προστάται* dicuntur. See Thayer's N.T. Lex. s.v. *προστάτις*. — **ἐπεγράφοντο**: see App., and, for mid. voice, cf. *Scytha* 10 *ἐπιγραψάμενος προστάτας*, and *Fugit.* 4 *τοὔνομα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐπιγράφονται*, also Just. Mart. *Apol.* A 4, 28 *φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα ἐπιγράφονταί τινες*. — **τὸν μέγαν**: there is much to be said for the emendation *μάγον* (see App.); the *μάγοι* not only took themselves seriously but were quoted as authorities. Cf. Just. Mart. *Apol.* A 18, 9. — **τὸν ἄνθρωπον κτλ.**: *the man, I mean, who was,* etc. The clause is explanatory. — **ἀνασκολοπισθέντα**: *crucified.* The first meaning is *impale,* but see *Jud. Vocal.* 12 where it is used of the T cross; see also s.v. *ἀνασταυρῶ*. — **καινὴν τελετήν**: *new-fangled religion;* properly *mystic rite.* Cf. note on § 28. — **εἰσῆγεν**: the imperfect refers to *ἀνασκολοπισθέντα*, see App.

12. **πάντα ἐκίνουν**: perhaps sc. *κάλων* (*rope*); cf. *Alex.* 57 *πάντα κάλων ἐκίνουν ἀμύνασθαι βουλόμενος*. So *Scytha* 11 *πάντα μὲν κάλων κινεῖν, πάντα δὲ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν*. The equivalent of the English proverb "Leave no stone unturned" — *πάντα λίθον κινεῖν* — occurs, but usually to indicate the precaution of turning up stones to look for scorpions, though sometimes in this same sense; cf. Fritzsche ad loc. — **ἦν ὁρᾶν**: tr. *there were to be seen.* Cf. Germ. *es war zu sehen.* — **παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ**:

χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά, οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαφθείραντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας· εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος Περεγρῖνος — ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο
13 ἐκαλεῖτο — καινὸς Σωκράτης ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠνομάζετο. καὶ μὴν κἀκ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων ἔστιν ὧν ἧκόν τινες, τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσοντες καὶ ξυναγορεύσοντες καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀμήχανον δέ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδάν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται δημόσιον· ἐν βραχεῖ γὰρ ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περεγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἧκε χρήματα παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ πρόσοδον οὐ μικρὰν ταύτην ἐποιήσατο· πεπείκασι γὰρ αὑτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, παρ᾽ ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἑκόντες αὑτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί· ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν

this use of *παρά* with dat. of places is poetic. — **χήρας**: this perhaps reflects the care of the early church for widows and orphans. Cf. Acts 6, 1. — **οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει**: *the* (*church*) *officials*. See L. & S. s.v. for the meaning *magistrates*. — **διαφθείραντες**: *after bribing*. So Crito (Plato *Crito* 1) admits that he has "tipped" the prison warden. — **δεῖπνα ποικίλα**: in antithesis to the plain prison fare (cf. the sauces, pastry, and blood-puddings, *παρεσκεύαστο ποικίλα* in *Symp.* 11), but also, doubtless, a careless allusion to the Christian *ἀγάπαι*, see Thayer's N.T. Lex. s.v. — **καινὸς Σωκράτης**: *a new* (or, *a second*) *Socrates*. Justin Martyr shocked his church contemporaries by his Christian liberality in recognizing Socrates and others as proleptic Christians (cf. Gildersleeve on *Apol.* A 46): *καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἀνανίας* (Shadrach) *καὶ Ἀζαρίας* (Abednego) *καὶ Μισαὴλ* (Meshach) *καὶ Ἠλίας καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί.*

13. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ: *from their common fund*. Cf. Acts 2, 44; 4, 32; 11, 29, and Just. Mart. *Apol.* A 14 *ἃ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ κοινωνοῦντες.* — **ἐπὶ προφάσει**: *on the score of*. — **τὸ μὲν ὅλον**: *in general*. — **ἀθάνατοι**: see note on *Vit. Auct.* 5 and Introd. to *Peregr.*, p. 205. — **ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος**: i.e. Christ (not Moses or Saint Paul, as has been suggested; see Reitz. ad loc.). The words just below, *κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους*, make this clear, and *ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν* is

ἀλλήλων. ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνι-
κοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφι-
στὴν αὐτὸν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιῶσι.
καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἁπάντων ἐξ ἴσης καὶ κοινὰ ἡγοῦνται ἄνευ
τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι. ἢν τοίνυν
παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρά-
γμασι χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεῖ
14 ἐγένετο ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανών. πλὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Περεγρῖ-
νος ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος, ἀνδρὸς φιλοσο-
φίᾳ χαίροντος, ὃς συνεὶς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέξαιτ'
ἂν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολίποι, ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν
οὐδὲ τῆς κολάσεως ὑπολαβὼν ἄξιον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν
ἐπανελθὼν καταλαμβάνει τὸ περὶ τοῦ πατρῴου φόνου ἔτι φλε-
γμαῖνον καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους τὴν κατηγορίαν.
διήρπαστο δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κτημάτων παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν
αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνοι ὑπελείποντο οἱ ἀγροὶ ὅσον εἰς πεντεκαί-
δεκα τάλαντα· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα οὐσία τριάκοντά που ταλάν-
των ἀξία ἣν ὁ γέρων κατέλιπεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ παγγέλοιος

certainly in the spirit of S. Matt. 23, 8. — **παραβάντες**: *transgressing*, sc. τοὺς νόμους. So in Aesch. *Agam.* 59 ὁ παραβάς *the transgressor* is used absolutely. — **ἀπαρνήσωνται**: the God of the Jews and the Christians alike was a "jealous God" and could not share in any polytheistic beliefs. The Romans could welcome any new cult to their Pantheon, but this monotheism could not itself tolerate the established polytheism. See Introd. p. viii. — **τὸν ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτόν**: *that crucified sophist himself.* The term "sophist," which had fallen into bad odor, was somewhat reinstated in honor by the Professors of Rhetoric. Lucian seems generally to give it a good meaning, but in § 32 uses it in a contemptuous reference to Peregrinus himself. Cf. Bernays, *Lucian und die Kyniker*, p. 109, note to c. 13. — **κοινά**: see above ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ. — **πίστεως**: *proof*; if we had the present tense παραδεχόμενοι, *pledge* would give an easier meaning.

14. **πλὴν ἀλλ'**: see Introd. 24 (*a*). — **τῆς κολάσεως**: *the usual chastisement.* Note the article; whether the prisoner was released or executed, scourging might be in order under the Romans. Cf. S. Luke 23, 16 and 22, with S. Mark 15, 15. — **παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν**: for prep. see note on § 2. — **οἱ ἀγροί**: his *real estate* as distinguished from κτήματα above. — **ὥσπερ . . . ἔλεγε**:

Θεαγένης ἔλεγε πεντακισχιλίων· τοσούτου γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ πᾶσα τῶν Παριανῶν πόλις πέντε σὺν αὐτῇ τὰς γειτνιώσας παραλαβοῦσα πραθείη ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ βοσκήμασι καὶ

15 τῇ λοιπῇ παρασκευῇ. ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι γε ἡ κατηγορία καὶ τὸ ἔγκλημα θερμὸν ἦν, καὶ ἐῴκει οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπαναστήσεσθαί τις αὐτῷ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸς ἠγανάκτει χρηστόν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ ἰδόντες, γέροντα πενθοῦντες οὕτως ἀσεβῶς ἀπολωλότα. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς οὗτος Πρωτεὺς πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα σκέψασθε οἷόν τι ἐξεῦρε καὶ ὅπως τὸν κίνδυνον διέφυγε· παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Παριανῶν — ἐκόμα δὲ ἤδη καὶ τρίβωνα πιναρὸν ἠμπείχετο καὶ πήραν παρήρτητο καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἦν καὶ ὅλος μάλα τραγικῶς ἐσκεύαστο — τοιοῦτος οὖν ἐπιφανεὶς αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖναι ἔφη τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν ὁ μακαρίτης πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, δημοσίαν εἶναι πᾶσαν. τοῦτο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ δῆμος πένητες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς διανομὰς κεχηνότες, ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς ἕνα φιλόσοφον, ἕνα φιλόπατριν, ἕνα Διογένους καὶ Κράτητος ζηλωτήν. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ ἐπεφίμωντο, κἂν εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ

see § 4. — **τῶν Παριανῶν**: Peregrinus was born at Parium on the Hellespont. — **αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις** κτλ.: *men, cattle, and all.*

15. ἐκόμα: *he had a crop of long hair.* The same expression, κομῶν ἤδη, is used (*Alex.* 11) of the charlatan Alexander, and the Cynic Maximus in the fourth century could join the Christians without laying aside his Cynic's garb. His long hair was not shorn until he was made bishop of Constantinople. Cf. Bernays, op. cit., p. 37, and St. Chrys. *Homil.* 26 on 1 Cor. 11, 14. — **τρίβωνα**: the Cynic's *old cloak*, the wallet (ἡ πήρα), the Heracles club, and the bead constantly recur. Cf. § 24. — **πιναρόν**: *rusty; squalid.* The noun is used of antique bronzes: πίνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος. — **τὸ ξύλον**: *the* (conventional Heracles) *club.* In *Catapl.* 4 the Cynic is designated as ὁ τὸ ξύλον. — **ὁ μακαρίτης πατήρ**: *his father of blessed memory.* Cf. *D. Meretr.* 6, 1, where the mother says to her daughter: ἀλλὰ δύο ἔτη ταῦτα ἐξ οὗ τέθνηκεν ὁ μακαρίτης σου πατήρ, οὐκ οἶσθα ὅπως ἀπεζήσαμεν; cf. also *Philops.* 27. — **πρὸς διανομὰς κεχηνότες**: *agape for largesses.* — **φιλόπατριν**: *patriot.* The spurious dialogue with this title, included among Lucian's writings and containing references to the Christian religion, is of much later date. — **ἐπεφίμωντο**: *were muzzled.* Cf. S. Mark 1, 25 and 4, 39 σιώπα, πεφίμωσο, and note to *Vit. Auct.*

16 φόνου, λίθοις εὐθὺς ἐβάλλετο. ἐξῄει οὖν τὸ δεύτερον πλανησόμενος, ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἔχων, ὑφ᾽ ὧν δορυφορούμενος ἐν ἅπασιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα οὕτως ἐβόσκετο· εἶτα παρανομήσας τι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους — ὤφθη γάρ τι, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς — οὐκέτι προσιεμένων αὐτῶν ἀπορούμενος ἐκ παλινῳδίας ἀπαιτεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὰ κτήματα, καὶ γραμματεῖον ἐπιδοὺς ἠξίου ταῦτα κομίσασθαι κελεύσαντος βασιλέως. εἶτα τῆς πόλεως ἀντιπρεσβευσαμένης οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμμένειν ἐκελεύσθη οἷς ἅπαξ διέγνω μηδενὸς καταναγκάσαν-

17 τος. τρίτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀποδημία εἰς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τὸν Ἀγαθόβουλον, ἵναπερ τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἄσκησιν διησκεῖτο, ξυρόμενος μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἥμισυ, χριόμενος δὲ πηλῷ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐν πολλῷ δὲ τῶν περιεστώτων δήμῳ ἀναφλῶν τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ τὸ ἀδιάφορον δὴ τοῦτο καλούμενον ἐπιδεικνύμενος, εἶτα παίων καὶ παιόμενος νάρθηκι εἰς τὰς πυγὰς καὶ

18 ἄλλα πολλὰ νεανικώτερα θαυματοποιῶν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἔπλευσε καὶ ἀποβὰς τῆς νεὼς εὐθὺς ἐλοιδορεῖτο πᾶσι καὶ μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ πρᾳότατον

22. — **λίθοις . . . ἐβάλλετο**: cf. *Pisc.* 1 *βάλλε βάλλε τὸν κατάρατον ἀφθόνοις τοῖς λίθοις.*

16. **ἐβόσκετο**: *lived in clover.* — **ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων**: perhaps "meat offered to idols," see Thayer, N.T. Lex., s.v. *εἰδωλόθυτος*, and Smith & Cheetham, *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, s.v. "Idolatry"; perhaps a confusion of Christian with Jewish customs. — **γραμματεῖον ἐπιδούς**: *handing in a brief.* — **κελεύσαντος βασιλέως**: *with the Emperor's sanction.* *βασιλεύς* is regularly used of the Roman emperors; cf. Gildersleeve on Just. Mart. *Apol.* A 14, 25. — **μηδενός**: cf. Introd. 39 (*e*).

17. **Ἀγαθόβουλον**: perhaps this same man is the one mentioned (*Demonax* 3), along with Demetrius and Epictetus, as a teacher of Demonax. — **διησκεῖτο**: *he went into training in.* See note on *Vit. Auct.* 9, and see App. — **ξυρόμενος . . . ἥμισυ**: the fool and the philosopher go shares. — **ἀδιάφορον**: a stock term, see on *Vit. Auct.* 21; *Pisc.* 35, and cf. Gildersleeve, op. cit., B 3, 26. — **παίων καὶ παιόμενος**: used of the boxing match between the Cynic and the clown, *Symp.* 19, *φιλόσοφος ἀνὴρ γελωτοποιῷ ἀνταιρόμενος καὶ παίων καὶ παιόμενος ἐν τῷ μέρει.*

18. **τῷ βασιλεῖ**: probably Antoninus Pius, whom Marcus Aurelius succeeded

αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμερώτατον εἰδώς, ὥστε ἀσφαλῶς ἐτόλμα· ἐκείνῳ γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, ὀλίγον ἔμελε τῶν βλασφημιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἠξίου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποδυόμενόν τινα κολάζειν ἐπὶ ῥήμασι καὶ μάλιστα τέχνην τινὰ τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι πεποιημένον. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς δόξης ηὐξάνετο· παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, μέχρι δὴ ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτετραμμένος ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἀμέτρως ἐντρυφῶντα τῷ πράγματι, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν τοιούτου φιλοσόφου. πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο κλεινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ στόματος ἦν ἅπασιν, ὁ φιλόσοφος διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελαθείς· καὶ προσήλαυνε κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Μουσωνίῳ καὶ Δίωνι καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐν
19 περιστάσει τοιαύτῃ ἐγένετο. οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθὼν ἄρτι μὲν Ἠλείοις ἐλοιδορεῖτο, ἄρτι δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔπειθεν ἀντάρασθαι ὅπλα Ῥωμαίοις, ἄρτι δὲ ἄνδρα παιδείᾳ

in 161 A.D. From § 20 we learn that at least two Olympiads passed before the death of Peregrinus, so that even if we accept 169 and not 165 A.D. for the final scene he may have left Italy before the accession of Marcus Aurelius. See Introd. 3, and Introd. to *Peregr* p. 206. — **τέχνην . . . πεποιημένον**: *had made billingsgate into a regular profession.* — **ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτετραμμένος**: the praefectus urbi at Rome had absorbed the functions of the praetor urbanus. — **εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖσθαι**: a double solecism for *εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ δεῖται*. See note on *φησὶν ὅτι* § 23, and for neg. see Introd. 39 (*a*). — **διὰ στόματος ἦν ἅπασιν**: *was on everybody's lips.* — **διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν**: These were the pre-eminent virtues which the Cynics were wont to arrogate to themselves. And it is to be noted that these qualities were Lucian's chosen virtues. Cf. *Pisc.* 19 where his incognito is *Παρρησιάδης Ἀληθίωνος*, and in § 17 *Ἐλευθερία* and *Παρρησία* are handmaidens of Truth, who at once declares herself as on Lucian's side. — **Μουσωνίῳ**: C. Musonius Rufus, a Stoic philosopher banished by Nero to Gyaros in 66 A.D. He was afterwards tolerated by Vespasian when the other philosophers were exiled. — **Δίωνι**: Dion Chrysostomus, banished by Domitian. He returned under Nerva. — **Ἐπικτήτῳ**: Epictetus, won over to Stoicism by C. Musonius Rufus, was expelled with other philosophers by Domitian.

19. **ἔπειθεν**: suadebat. — **ἄνδρα κτλ.**: Herodes Atticus, or Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, was a rich Athenian gentleman, a close contemporary of Lucian, famous alike as a rhetorician and as a liberal benefactor of his fellow Greeks. Although we

καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχοντα, διότι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ ἐποίησε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγε τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἔπαυσε δίψει ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς πανηγυριστάς, κακῶς ἠγόρευεν ὡς καταθηλύναντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, δέον τοὺς θεατὰς τῶν Ὀλυμπίων διακαρτερεῖν διψῶντας καὶ νὴ Δία γε καὶ ἀποθνῄσκειν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ σφοδρῶν τῶν νόσων, αἳ τέως διὰ τὸ ξηρὸν τοῦ χωρίου ἐν πολλῷ τῷ πλήθει ἐπεπόλαζον· καὶ ταῦτα ἔλεγε πίνων τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕδατος. ὡς δὲ μικροῦ κατέλευσαν αὐτὸν ἐπιδραμόντες ἅπαντες, τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Δία

20 *καταφυγὼν ὁ γενναῖος εὕρετο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἑξῆς Ὀλυμπιάδα λόγον τινὰ διὰ τεττάρων ἐτῶν συνθεὶς τῶν διὰ μέσου ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔπαινον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπαγαγόντος καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τότε φυγῆς. ἤδη δὲ ἀμελούμενος ὑφ᾽ ἁπάντων καὶ μηκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως περίβλεπτος ὢν — ἕωλα γὰρ ἦν ἅπαντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ ἐκπλήξει τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἀποβλέπειν ποιήσει, οὗπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δριμύν τινα ἔρωτα ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανε — τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο τόλμημα ἐβουλεύσατο τὸ περὶ τῆς πυρᾶς, καὶ διέδωκε λόγον ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐθὺς*

may sometimes be inclined to criticize his overlaying of antique monuments with marble, and the emphasis laid upon beauty of material, yet his benefactions were conspicuous. For his various public works see Baedeker's *Greece*, pp. 42 and 53, and especially Chabert, *L'Atticisme de Lucien*, pp. 25–27. The favor of the Roman emperor and jealousy of his great wealth raised him up enemies, so that he finally retired from Athens and died (ca. 180 A.D.) at his villa near Marathon, his birthplace. — **ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγε τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ**: considerable remains of this aqueduct were excavated at and near Olympia; e.g. a pillar near the waters of the spring some two miles away from the Altis, the tunnel under Mount Cronius, and the Exedra itself with its marble rotundas on each side of the semicircular tank. For full description of the statues etc. see Frazer's *Pausanias*, IV, pp. 72 ff. — **κακῶς ἠγόρευεν**: see account in Philostratus, Introd. to *Peregr.*, p. 202. — **τέως**: there had been other, but insufficient, aqueducts; see Frazer, l.c. — **εὕρετο**: see App.

20. **ἐξήνεγκε . . . ἔπαινον**: *he delivered a panegyric.* — **μηκέθ᾽**: for *οὐκέτι*. See Introd. 39 (*e*). — **καινουργεῖν**: *work up any novelty.* Cf. *Catapl.* 26 *τῶν*

ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὡς ἐς τοὐπιὸν καύσων ἑαυτόν.
21 *καὶ νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαυματοποιεῖ, ὥς φασι, βόθρον ὀρύττων καὶ ξύλα συγκομίζων καὶ δεινήν τινα τὴν καρτερίαν ὑπισχνούμενος. ἐχρῆν δέ, οἶμαι, μάλιστα μὲν περιμένειν τὸν θάνατον καὶ μὴ δραπετεύειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου· εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντως διέγνωστό οἱ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, μὴ πυρὶ μηδὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας τούτοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τινα θανάτου τρόπον, μυρίων ὄντων, ἑλόμενον ἀπελθεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὡς Ἡράκλειόν τι ἀσπάζεται, τί δή ποτε οὐχὶ κατὰ σιγὴν ἑλόμενος ὄρος εὔδενδρον ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἑαυτὸν ἐνέπρησε μόνος ἕνα τινὰ οἷον Θεαγένη τοῦτον Φιλοκτήτην παραλαβών; ὁ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῆς πανηγύρεως πληθούσης μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὀπτήσει ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἀνάξιος ὢν μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, εἴ γε χρὴ καὶ τοὺς πατραλοίας καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους δίκας διδόναι τῶν τολμημάτων· καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πάνυ ὀψὲ δρᾶν αὐτὸ ἔοικεν, ὃν ἐχρῆν πάλαι ἐς τὸν τοῦ Φαλάριδος ταῦρον ἐμπεσόντα τὴν ἀξίαν ἀποτετικέναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἅπαξ χανόντα πρὸς τὴν φλόγα ἐν ἀκαρεῖ τεθνάναι. καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τόδε οἱ πολλοί μοι λέγουσιν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ὀξύτερος ἄλλος θανάτου τρόπος τοῦ διὰ πυρός· ἀνοῖξαι γὰρ δεῖν μόνον τὸ στόμα καὶ αὐτίκα τεθνά-*
22 *ναι. τὸ μέντοι θέαμα ἐπινοεῖται, οἶμαι, ὡς σεμνόν, ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ καιόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ἔνθα μηδὲ θάπτειν ὅσιον τοὺς*

κολάσεων τὸ πρὸς ὠμότητα καινουργόν. — **ἐς τοὐπιόν**: *at the subsequent* (*one*).

21. **δραπετεύειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου**: runaway slaves were held in contempt. Cf. Plato *Crito* 52 D *ἅπερ ἂν δοῦλος φαυλότατος πράξειεν.* In the sequel to the *Peregrinus* the *Δραπέται* (see Introd. to *Peregr.*, p. 207) are runagate philosophers. — **διέγνωστό οἱ**: see Introd. 40 and Schmid, I, 228. — **Φιλοκτήτην**: *as his Philoctetes.* Cf. § 33. For a rehabilitation of the character of Theagenes see Bernays, op. cit., pp. 13 ff. — **μόνον οὐκ**: *all but.* — **ἀθέους**: a stock reproach. Cf. *Alex.* 38, where proclamation is made: *εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω.* See above, p. 206. — **τοῦ Φαλάριδος ταῦρον**: for the punishment of its inventor see *Phalar.* A 12. — **ἀποτετικέναι**: *to have paid off in full,* and *τεθνάναι*: *to be dead.* Cf. Introd. 34 (*a*).

22. **μηδέ**: cf. Introd. 39 (*d*). —

ἄλλους ἀποθνήσκοντας. ἀκούετε δέ, οἶμαι, ὥς καὶ πάλαι θέλων τις ἔνδοξος γενέσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλον τρόπον οὐκ εἶχεν ἐπιτυχεῖν τούτου, ἐνέπρησε τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν νεών. τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπινοεῖ, τοσοῦτος ἔρως τῆς

23 δόξης ἐντέτηκεν αὐτῷ. καίτοι φησὶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸ δρᾷ, ὡς διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς θανάτου καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τοῖς δεινοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλ᾽ ὑμᾶς, εἰ καὶ τοὺς κακούργους βούλοισθε ἂν μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τῆς καρτερίας ταύτης καὶ καταφρονεῖν θανάτου καὶ καύσεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων δειμάτων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι βουληθείητε. πῶς οὖν ὁ Πρωτεὺς τοῦτο διακρινεῖ καὶ τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ὠφελήσει, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς

24 οὐ φιλοκινδυνοτέρους καὶ τολμηροτέρους ἀποφανεῖ; καίτοι δυνατὸν ἔστω ἐς τοῦτο μόνους ἀπαντήσεσθαι τοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὠφέλιμον ὀψομένους τὸ πρᾶγμα. ὑμᾶς δ᾽ οὖν αὖθις ἐρήσομαι, δέξαισθ᾽ ἂν τοὺς παῖδας ὑμῶν ζηλωτὰς τοῦ τοιούτου γενέσθαι; οὐκ ἂν εἴποιτε. καίτοι τί τοῦτο ἠρόμην, ὅπου μηδ᾽ αὐτῶν τις τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτὸν ζηλώσειεν ἄν; τὸν οὖν Θεαγένη τοῦτο μάλιστα αἰτιάσαιτο ἄν τις, ὅτι τἆλλα ζηλῶν τἀνδρὸς οὐχ ἕπεται τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ συνοδεύει παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὥς φησιν, ἀπιόντι, δυνάμενος ἐν βραχεῖ πανευδαίμων γενέσθαι συνεμπεσὼν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὐ γὰρ ἐν πήρᾳ καὶ βάκτρῳ καὶ τρίβωνι ὁ ζῆλος, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα

θέλων τις: i.e. Herostratus. See Class. Dict. s.v. — **ἐντέτηκεν αὐτῷ**: *has been welded to him*. Cf. Soph. *Elect.* 1311 μῖσος ἐντέτηκέ μοι, and Luc. *Gall.* 30, of a miser, διαγρύπνει καὶ ὅμοιος γίγνου τὸ χρῶμα τῷ χρυσῷ προστετηκὼς αὐτῷ.

23. φησὶν ὅτι: exceptions occur even in classic Greek to the use of the infinitive with φημί: e.g. for ὅτι Plato *Gorg.* 487 D; with ὡς Lys. 7, 19. Cf. Gildersleeve, Just. Mart. *Apol.* A 19, 18: "φημί is the most 'subjective' of the common verbs of saying, and in model Greek seldom takes anything but the inf. In this stage it is freely combined with ὅτι." Cf., per contra, § 18 for εἶπον with inf. — **διδάξειεν**: see Introd. 35 (*a*).

24. καίτοι δυνατὸν ἔστω: *and now, granted that it is possible*. See App. — **πρὸς τὸ ὠφέλιμον**: *in a salutary light*. — **ὅπου μηδ᾽**: see Introd. 39 (*d*). —

μὲν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ῥᾴδια καὶ παντὸς ἂν εἴη, τὸ τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον χρὴ ζηλοῦν καὶ πυρὰν συνθέντα κορμῶν συκίνων ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα χλωρῶν ἐναποπνιγῆναι τῷ καπνῷ· τὸ πῦρ γὰρ αὐτὸ οὐ μόνον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱεροσύλων καὶ ἀνδροφόνων, οὓς ὁρᾶν ἔστιν ἐκ καταδίκης αὐτὸ πάσχοντας. ὥστε ἄμεινον τὸ διὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ· ἴδιον
25 γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ἂν μόνων γένοιτο. ἄλλως τε ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς, εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ ἐτόλμησέ τι τοιοῦτον, ὑπὸ νόσου αὐτὸ ἔδρασεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κενταυρείου αἵματος, ὥς φησιν ἡ τραγῳδία, κατεσθιόμενος. οὗτος δὲ τίνος αἰτίας ἕνεκεν ἐμβάλλει φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ; νὴ Δί', ὅπως τὴν καρτερίαν ἐπιδείξηται καθάπερ οἱ Βραχμᾶνες· ἐκείνοις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠξίου Θεαγένης εἰκάζειν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνὸν εἶναί τινας καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς μωροὺς καὶ κενοδόξους ἀνθρώπους. ὅμως δ' οὖν κἂν ἐκείνους μιμείσθω· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐμπηδῶσιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου κυβερνήτης ἰδὼν Κάλανον καόμενόν φησιν,

τὸ τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον: *the end that crowned it all.* — **συκίνων**: like *Ohrfeigen für die Feigen; συκοφάντης, blackguard*, was a term elastic enough to include Theagenes. Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 145 for another case of similia similibus. In *Alex.* 47 Epicurus's books are burned *ἐπὶ ξύλων συκίνων.* — **Ἡρακλέους** *κτλ.*: see § 4. — **ἱεροσύλων**: sacrilege increased as orthodoxy decayed.

25. **ἄλλως τε**: *and besides.* Cf. *καὶ ἄλλως.* — **κατεσθιόμενος**: (because he was being) *corroded*, cf. *D. Deor.* 13, 2. — **οἱ Βραχμᾶνες**: in *Fugit.* 6 Philosophy relates how she went *first* to the Indians and without difficulty persuaded them to dismount from their elephants and dwell with her, and how that the Brahmans — *γένος ὅλον οἱ Βραχμᾶνες* — fell in line under her command. Lucian seems to speak loosely of the Brahmans not as a caste but as a tribe or nation. — **ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνόν**, *κτλ.*: *as though it were not possible that any fools should exist*, etc. For acc. abs. see G. 1569; H. 973; Gl. 591; B. 343. — **Ὀνησίκριτος**: see Class. Dict. for account of this somewhat versatile character — historian, Cynic philosopher, and able-bodied mariner. Alexander the Great appointed him *ἀρχικυβερνήτης* on the voyage to India, for which see Arrian's *Indica* written in pseudo-Ionic. In *Hist. Conscr.* 40 Lucian relates a conversation between Onesicritus and Alexander. — **Κάλανον**: an Indian gymnosophist in Alexander's retinue who, because he had fallen ill, stolidly burnt himself in the most approved form. See Plut. *Alex.* 69

ἀλλ᾿ ἐπειδὰν νήσωσι, πλησίον παραστάντες ἀκίνητοι ἀνέχονται παροπτώμενοι, εἶτ᾿ ἐπιβάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καίονται οὐδ᾿ ὅσον ὀλίγον ἐκτρέψαντες τῆς κατακλίσεως. οὗτος δὲ τί μέγα, εἰ ἐμπεσὼν τεθνήξεται συναρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός; οὐδ᾿ ἀπ᾿ ἐλπίδος μὴ ἀναπηδήσεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμίφλεκτον, εἰ μή, ὅπερ φασί, μηχανήσεται βαθεῖαν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν
26 βόθρῳ τὴν πυράν. εἰσὶ δ᾿ οἳ καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαί φασιν αὐτὸν καί τινα ὀνείρατα διηγεῖσθαι, ὡς τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἐῶντος μιαίνειν ἱερὸν χωρίον. ἀλλὰ θαρρείτω τούτου γε ἕνεκα· ἐγὼ γὰρ διομοσαίμην ἂν ἦ μὴν μηδένα τῶν θεῶν ἀγανακτήσειν, εἰ Περεγρῖνος κακὸς κακῶς ἀποθάνοι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον αὐτῷ ἔτ᾿ ἀναδῦναι· οἱ γὰρ συνόντες κύνες παρορμῶσι καὶ συνωθοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὑπεκκάουσι τὴν γνώμην οὐκ ἐῶντες ἀποδειλιᾶν, ὧν εἰ δύο συγκατασπάσας ἐμπέσοι εἰς
27 τὴν πυράν, τοῦτο μόνον χάριεν ἂν ἐργάσαιτο. ἤκουον δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ Πρωτεὺς ἔτι καλεῖσθαι ἀξιοῖ, ἀλλὰ Φοίνικα μετωνόμασεν ἑαυτόν, ὅτι καὶ Φοῖνιξ τὸ Ἰνδικὸν ὄρνεον ἐπιβαίνειν πυρᾶς

and Arrian *Anab.* 7, 3, who gives the details, adding: *ὡς καρτερόν τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀνίκητον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη ὅ τι περ ἐθέλει ἐξεργάσασθαι.* — **κατὰ σχῆμα . . . κατακλίσεως**: cf. Plut. l.c. *ἐν ᾧ κατεκλίθη σχήματι*, and also *Fugit.* 7 *τοὺς γυμνοσοφιστὰς λέγεις· ἀκούω γοῦν . . . ὅτι ἐπὶ πυρὰν μεγίστην ἀναβάντες ἀνέχονται καιόμενοι οὐδὲν τοῦ σχήματος ἢ τῆς καθέδρας ἐκτρέποντες.* — **τεθνήξεται**: see Introd. 18 (*b*). — **οὐδ᾿ ἀπ᾿ ἐλπίδος μὴ** *κτλ.*: *then, too, it is not past all expectation* (*apprehension*) *that he will jump out*, etc. For *ἀπ᾿ ἐλπίδος* in this sense cf. (if we accept the reading *ἀπ᾿* rather than *ἐξ*), Aesch. *Ag.* 998 ff. *εὔχομαι δ᾿ ἀπ᾿ ἐμᾶς τοιαῦτ᾿ ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.* For *μή* c. inf. after words of fearing see Gulick, *Harv. Stud.* XII, pp. 328 ff. To illustrate the meaning of *οὐ . . . ἐλπίς . . . μή* c. inf., Dr. C. W. E. Miller (by letter) cites Thuc. 3, 32, 3 *καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μή ποτε Ἀθηναίων τῆς θαλάσσης κρατούντων ναῦς Πελοποννησίων εἰς Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν*, *they had not even the least expectation* (i.e. *apprehension*) *that* etc.; and for the formula with a fut. inf. he compares Thuc. 2, 101, 1 *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρῆσαν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπιστοῦντες* (cf. *ἀπελπίζοντες* and then *ἀπ᾿ ἐλπίδος*) *αὐτὸν μὴ ἥξειν.* For *οὐδ᾿*, Ms. *οὐκ*, see App.

26. **κακὸς κακῶς**: cf. S. Matt. 21, 41 and see App. — **οἱ συνόντες κύνες**: *his dog-disciples*, or *his Cynic associates* (*die Häupter der Hünde*, Wieland). — **οὐκ ἐῶντες ἀποδειλιᾶν**: *won't let him show the white feather.*

λέγεται πορρωτάτω γήρως προβεβηκώς. ἀλλὰ καὶ λογοποιεῖ καὶ χρησμούς τινας διέξεισι παλαιούς δή, ὡς χρεὼν δαίμονα νυκτοφύλακα γενέσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ δῆλός ἐστι βωμῶν
28 ἤδη ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀναστήσεσθαι ἐλπίζων. καὶ μὰ Δία οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀνοήτοις εὑρεθήσεσθαί τινας τοὺς καὶ τεταρταίων ἀπηλλάχθαι δι' αὐτοῦ φήσοντας καὶ νύκτωρ ἐντετυχηκέναι τῷ δαίμονι τῷ νυκτοφύλακι. οἱ κατάρατοι δὲ οὗτοι μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ χρηστήριον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἄδυτον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ μηχανήσονται, διότι καὶ Πρωτεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Διός, ὁ προπάτωρ τοῦ ὀνόματος, μαντικὸς ἦν. μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἦ μὴν καὶ ἱερέας αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι μαστίγων ἢ καυτηρίων ἤ τινος τοιαύτης τερατουργίας, ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία τελετήν τινα ἐπ' αὐτῷ συστήσεσθαι νυκτέριον καὶ δᾳδουχίαν ἐπὶ
29 τῇ πυρᾷ. Θεαγένης δὲ ἔναγχος, ὥς μοί τις τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ Σίβυλλαν ἔφη προειρηκέναι περὶ τούτων· καὶ τὰ ἔπη γὰρ ἀπεμνημόνευεν·

27. **πορρωτάτω γήρως προβεβηκώς**: cf. Xen. *Apol.* 30 *προβήσεσθαι πόρρω μοχθηρίας*, *will be far gone in knavery.* — **χρεών**: acc. abs. See App. — **δαίμονα νυκτοφύλακα**: *a guardian angel of darkness.* — **χρυσοῦς . . . ἐλπίζων**: *expecting to have a golden statue set up.* Cf. *Tim.* 51, where Timon's statue is to be set up *χρυσοῦν . . . παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει.* *χρυσοῦς*, as at least equivalent to *ἐπίχρυσος*, *gold-plated*, rather than *κατάχρυσος*, *gilded*, suits the exaggerated tone of these passages. Marble as well as bronze was thus gilded. Cf. Virgil *Ecl.* 7, 36 nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu | . . . aureus esto.

28. **χρηστήριον καὶ ἄδυτον**: *oracle and sanctuary.* For the mechanism of these prosperous dens of thieves see *Alex.* 15 ff., 49, and 53. Peregrinus's hopes were realized. Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis* 130–131, tells us that in Parium, the native place of Peregrinus, statues were set up both of him and of Alexander the false prophet —a well-matched pair in Lucian's judgment (see Introd. to *Peregr.*, p. 204). Athenagoras adds that the statue of Proteus *καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται χρηματίζειν.* — **τελετὴν . . . δᾳδουχίαν**: cf. *Alex.* 38 *τελετήν τε γάρ τινα συνίσταται καὶ δᾳδουχίας καὶ ἱεροφαντίας κτλ.* At the celebration of these mysteries the false prophet made the proclamation cited above at § 21.

29. **Σίβυλλαν**: so, very solemnly, in Ar. *Pax* 1095 *οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' εἶπε Σίβυλλα.* — **ἀλλ' ὁπόταν** *κτλ.*: this and the following (§ 30) parody of the model

ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταν Πρωτεὺς Κυνικῶν ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος ἁπάντων
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούπου τέμενος κάτα πῦρ ἀνακαύσας
ἐς φλόγα πηδήσας ἔλθῃ ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
δὴ τότε πάντας ὁμῶς, οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι,
νυκτιπόλον τιμᾶν κέλομαι ἥρωα μέγιστον
σύνθρονον Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ Ἡρακλῆι ἄνακτι.

30 ταῦτα μὲν Θεαγένης Σιβύλλης ἀκηκοέναι φησίν. ἐγὼ δὲ Βάκιδος αὐτῷ χρησμὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐρῶ· φησὶ δὲ ὁ Βάκις οὕτως σφόδρα εὖ ἐπειπών,

ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταν Κυνικὸς πολυώνυμος ἐς φλόγα πολλὴν
πηδήσῃ δόξης ὑπ᾽ ἐρινύι θυμὸν ὀρινθείς,
δὴ τότε τοὺς ἄλλους κυναλώπεκας, οἵ οἱ ἕπονται,
μιμεῖσθαι χρὴ πότμον ἀποιχομένοιο λύκοιο.
ὃς δέ κε δειλὸς ἐὼν φεύγῃ μένος Ἡφαίστοιο,
λάεσσιν βαλέειν τοῦτον τάχα πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
ὡς μὴ ψυχρὸς ἐὼν θερμηγορέειν ἐπιχειρῇ
χρυσῷ σαξάμενος πήρην μάλα πολλὰ δανείζων,
ἐν καλαῖς Πάτραισιν ἔχων τρὶς πέντε τάλαντα.

oracle have the regulation Epic phrasing mixed with the Tragic, and are reminiscent also of Ar. *Eq.* 197 ff.; e.g. cf. the first verse with *Eq.* 197 and v. 4 with *Eq.* 199 etc. See also Ar. *Aves* 983 and 985. Lucian also mocks the pious Pausanias. For the orthodox belief in the Sibyls etc. cf. Paus. 10, 12, 1–5, and esp. 9, 17, 5 for an oracle of Bacis beginning *ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταν Τιθορεὺς Ἀμφίονί τε Ζήθῳ τε . . .* and the similar injunction *καὶ τότε δὴ πεφύλαξο.*

30. Βάκιδος: Bacis and his doubles (personified from *βάζω*) rivalled in Boeotia even the Sibyls. They are often referred to, e.g. Hdt. 8, 20. For the effect of the oracle on the religious Nicias see the passage from Ar. *Eq.*, esp. 121 ff. See also the whole scene Ar. *Aves* 960 ff. The parody on the Sibyl parody is naturally most evident in the first part. — **πολυώνυμος**: with double meaning, i.e. *famous* and *of many aliases.* — **κυναλώπεκας**: i.e. foxiness crossed with Cynic squalor. — **ψυχρός**: *frigid.* To contrast with *θερμηγορέειν* translate the line:

That he may not, cold stiff that he is, try
speeches inflaming.

— **ἐν καλαῖς Πάτραισιν**: from the time of its increased prosperity under Augustus, Patras may well have been so described. Cf. Paus. 7, 17, 2–6 with

τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, ἄνδρες; ἆρα φαυλότερος χρησμολόγος ὁ Βάκις τῆς Σιβύλλης εἶναι; ὥστε ὥρα τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς τούτοις ὁμιληταῖς τοῦ Πρωτέως περισκοπεῖν ἔνθα ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαερώσουσι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν καῦσιν καλοῦσι.

31 Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἀνεβόησαν οἱ περιεστῶτες ἅπαντες· Ἤδη καιέσθωσαν ἄξιοι τοῦ πυρός. καὶ ὁ μὲν κατέβη γελῶν, "Νέστορα δ᾽ οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχή," τὸν Θεαγένη, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἤκουσε τῆς βοῆς, ἧκεν εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐκεκράγει καὶ μυρία κακὰ διεξῄει περὶ τοῦ καταβεβηκότος· οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ὅστις ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀφεὶς αὐτὸν διαρρηγνύμενον ἀπῄειν ὀψόμενος τοὺς ἀθλητάς· ἤδη γὰρ οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἐν τῷ Πλεθρίῳ. ταῦτα μέν σοι τὰ ἐν Ἤλιδι.

32 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικόμεθα, μεστὸς ἦν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τῶν κατηγορούντων Πρωτέως ἢ ἐπαινούντων τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἦλθον οἱ πολλοί· ἄχρι δὴ παρελθὼν αὐτὸς ὁ Πρωτεὺς μυρίῳ τῷ πλήθει παραπεμπόμενος κατόπιν τοῦ τῶν κηρύκων ἀγῶνος λόγους τινὰς

Frazer's notes ad loc. — **ἔνθα ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαερώσουσι**: *where they are to aerify themselves.*

31. ἄξιοι: sc. *ὄντες*. Cf. § 30 above, *τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς*, for the plural. — **Νέστορα** *κτλ.*: cf. *Il.* 14, 1. — **ἐκεκράγει**: from the intensive perfect *κέκραγα*, Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* 229; hence parallel with the impf. *ἧκεν* and *διεξῄει*. — **ὁ βέλτιστος**: Lucian, if himself the speaker (see on § 2 and § 7) may have hoped to strengthen his case by seeming to adduce independent testimony. — **Ἑλλανοδίκαι**: cf. Paus. 6, 23, 2 *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καλούμενον Πλέθριον. ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ συμβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι αὐτούς.* Also see Frazer on Paus. 5, 9, 4 and 5. — **ἐν Ἤλιδι**: see § 3.

32. Ὀλυμπίαν: for description of Olympia and the excavations see Paus. 5, 7 to 6, 21 with Frazer's notes and Baedeker's *Greece.* — **ὀπισθόδομος**: this back chamber at the west end of the Zeus temple was open and furnished with a long stone bench, and was of the same size as the pronaos, which, however, was closed with doors. See Frazer's *Pausanias*, III, pp. 498 and 495. The opisthodomus made a convenient place for addressing a crowd. Herodotus is represented by Lucian, *Herod.* 1, as reading from there his history to the assembled Greeks, and in *Fugit.* 7 the Cynics fill the place with their barking: *ὡς . . . βοῆς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἐμπλήσωσιν ὑλακτοῦντες.* — **μυρίῳ τῷ πλήθει**: *with no end of a crowd.* — **κατόπιν τοῦ . . . ἀγῶνος**: *after the contest*

διεξῆλθε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν βίον τε ὡς ἐβίω καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς ἐκινδύνευσε διηγούμενος καὶ ὅσα πράγματα φιλοσοφίας ἕνεκα ὑπέμεινε. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα πολλὰ ἦν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὀλίγων ἤκουσα ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν περιεστώτων. εἶτα φοβηθεὶς μὴ συντριβείην ἐν τοσαύτῃ τύρβῃ, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλοὺς τοῦτο πάσχοντας ἑώρων, ἀπῆλθον μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας θανατῶντι σοφιστῇ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸ τελευτῆς
33 *διεξιόντι. πλὴν τό γε τοσοῦτον ἐπήκουσα· ἔφη γὰρ βούλεσθαι χρυσῷ βίῳ χρυσῆν κορώνην ἐπιθεῖναι· χρῆναι γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλείως βεβιωκότα Ἡρακλείως ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τῷ αἰθέρι. καὶ ὠφελῆσαι, ἔφη, βούλομαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δείξας αὐτοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον θανάτου καταφρονεῖν· πάντας οὖν δεῖ μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Φιλοκτήτας γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνοητότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδάκρυον καὶ ἐβόων· Σῴζου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρωδέστεροι ἐκεκράγεσαν· Τέλει τὰ δεδογμένα, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήθη ἐλπίζων πάντας ἕξεσθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ προήσεσθαι τῷ πυρί, ἀλλὰ ἄκοντα δὴ καθέξειν ἐν τῷ βίῳ. τὸ δὲ Τέλει τὰ δεδογμένα πάνυ ἀδόκητον αὐτῷ προσπεσὸν ὠχριᾶν*

of the heralds. Cf. *Symp.* 20 where the physician arrives after the boxing-match, *ἐπεισῆλθεν ὁ ἰατρὸς οὐ πολὺ κατόπιν τοῦ ἀγῶνος*: and Plato *Gorg.* 447 A uses *κατόπιν* in the same sense, *κατόπιν ἑορτῆς the day after the fair.* Hence Fritzsche's lacuna is unnecessary, and the tr. "behind" is wrong. — **τῶν κηρύκων ἀγῶνος**: *trial-contest of the heralds.* Explained by Paus. 5, 22, 1 *ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει . . . σαλπιγκταῖς δὲ ἐφεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι καθέστηκε.* Cf. also *Men.* 7 *ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κηρύκων* (*like the inferior ones among the heralds in the contests*) *ἐπίτροχόν τι καὶ ἀσαφὲς ἐφθέγγετο.* — **ὡς ἐβίω**: *how he had lived* (2d aor.). — **μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας**: *bidding a long farewell.* In *Gall.* 2 the horse of Achilles bids a long good-bye to neighing and betakes himself to hexameters: *μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τῷ χρεμετίζειν ἕστηκεν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πολέμῳ διαλεγόμενος ἔπη ὅλα ῥαψῳδῶν.* — **θανατῶντι**: see App.

33. **χρυσῷ βίῳ χρυσῆν κορώνην**: *a golden tip on a golden span* (i.e. *βίῳ*, *span of life; βιῷ, span of a bow*), a punning citation of *Il.* 4, 111; see Fritzsche ad loc. — **ἀναμιχθῆναι τῷ αἰθέρι**: see § 30. — **Τέλει τὰ δεδογμένα**: *go on with your programme!* — **ἄκοντα δή**: *against his will, of course.* — **τὸ δέ Τέλει**: Levi

ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐποίησε, καίτοι ἤδη νεκρικῶς τὴν χρόαν ἔχοντι,
34 *καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ὑποτρέμειν, ὥστε κατέπαυσε τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ*
δέ, εἰκάζεις, οἶμαι, πῶς ἐγέλων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλεεῖν ἄξιον ἦν
οὕτω δυσέρωτα τῆς δόξης ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τῇ
αὐτῇ Ποινῇ ἐλαύνονται. παρεπέμπετο δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ πολλῶν
καὶ ἐνεφορεῖτο τῆς δόξης ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θαυ-
μαζόντων, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ ἄθλιος ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν
ἀπαγομένοις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου ἐχομένοις πολλῷ πλείους
35 *ἕπονται. καὶ δὴ τὰ μὲν Ὀλύμπια τέλος εἶχε, κάλλιστα*
Ὀλυμπίων γενόμενα ὧν ἐγὼ εἶδον, τετράκις ἤδη ὁρῶν. ἐγὼ
δέ — οὐ γὰρ ἦν εὐπορῆσαι ὀχήματος ἅμα πολλῶν ἐξιόντων
— ἄκων ὑπελειπόμην. ὁ δὲ ἀεὶ ἀναβαλλόμενος νύκτα τὸ τε-
λευταῖον προειρήκει ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν καῦσιν· καί με τῶν
ἑταίρων τινὸς παραλαβόντος περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξαναστὰς
ἀπῄειν εὐθὺ τῆς Ἁρπίνης, ἔνθα ἦν ἡ πυρά. στάδιοι πάντες
οὗτοι εἴκοσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας κατὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀπιόν-
των πρὸς ἕω. καὶ ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἀφικόμεθα, καταλαμβάνομεν
πυρὰν νενησμένην ἐν βόθρῳ ὅσον ἐς ὀργυιὰν τὸ βάθος. δᾷ-
δες ἦσαν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παρεβέβυστο τῶν φρυγάνων, ὡς ἀνα-
36 *φθείη τάχιστα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτελλεν — ἔδει γὰρ*
κἀκείνην θεάσασθαι τὸ κάλλιστον τοῦτο ἔργον — πρόεισιν

compares *Prom.* 2 *τὸ κατελεήσατε*. See App. — **καίτοι**: see Introd. 27.

34. δυσέρωτα: *desperately in love with.* — **τῇ αὐτῇ Ποινῇ ἐλαύνονται**: *are driven by this self-same Pest* (i.e. love of notoriety). For *Ποινή* personified see Roscher, *Lex. der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, s.v. "Koroibos." — **ἐνεφορεῖτο**: *was taking his fill of.*

35. τετράκις ἤδη ὁρῶν: see Introd. p. xii, and Introd. to *Peregr.* p. 206. — **εὐπορῆσαι ὀχήματος**: *to find a conveyance.* — **ἄκων ὑπελειπόμην**: *I kept getting left behind against my will.* — **ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν καῦσιν**: *to give his* (*τήν*) *cremation show.* See App. — **τῆς Ἁρπίνης**: some two and a half miles east of Olympia, where Pausanias saw considerable remains, especially altars (cf. end of § 27). See Paus. 6, 21, 8 with Frazer's notes. — **ἱππόδρομον**: for ground plan see Frazer's *Pausanias*, IV, p. 83. — **ἐν βόθρῳ**: see App.

36. ἡ σελήνη: in *Fugit.* 1 Apollo questions Zeus about the death of Peregrinus, adding: *ἡ Σελήνη γὰρ ἡμῖν διηγεῖτο*

ἐκεῖνος ἐσκευασμένος ἐς τὸν ἀεὶ τρόπον καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ τὰ τέλη τῶν Κυνῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ γεννάδας ὁ ἐκ Πατρῶν δᾷδα ἔχων, οὐ φαῦλος δευτεραγωνιστής· ἐδᾳδοφόρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πρωτεύς. καὶ προσελθόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνῆψαν τὸ πῦρ μέγιστον ἅτε ἀπὸ δᾴδων καὶ φρυγάνων· ὁ δέ, καί μοι πάνυ ἤδη πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀποθέμενος τὴν πήραν καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον καὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἐκεῖνο ῥόπαλον ἔστη ἐν ὀθόνῃ ῥυπώσῃ ἀκριβῶς. εἶτα ᾔτει λιβανωτόν, ὡς ἐπιβάλοι ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἀναδόντος τινὸς ἐπέβαλέ τε καὶ εἶπεν ἐς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἀποβλέπων — καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πρὸς τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἦν ἡ μεσημβρία — Δαίμονες μητρῷοι καὶ πατρῷοι, δέξασθέ με εὐμενεῖς. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπήδησεν ἐς τὸ πῦρ, οὐ μὴν ἑωρᾶτό γε, ἀλλὰ περιεσχέθη ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς ἠρμένης.

37 Αὖθις ὁρῶ γελῶντά σε, ὦ καλὲ Κρόνιε, τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ δράματος. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μητρῴους μὲν δαίμονας ἐπιβοώμενον μὰ τὸν Δί᾽ οὐ σφόδρα ᾐτιώμην, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τοὺς

αὐτὴ ἑωρακέναι καιόμενον λέγουσα. — **ἐς τὸν ἀεὶ τρόπον**: *in his usual guise.* See § 15. — **τὰ τέλη τῶν Κυνῶν**: *the Dog-dignitaries* (note the following *καὶ μάλιστα*); for *τὰ τέλη*, *magistrates*, *authorities*, const. with masc. partic., cf. Thuc. 4, 15 *ἔδοξεν . . . τὰ τέλη καταβάντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον βουλεύειν.* — **ὁ ἐκ Πατρῶν**: i.e. Theagenes. See § 30. — **οὐ φαῦλος δευτεραγωνιστής**: *no bad second fiddle.* Peregrinus had the title rôle. — **τὴν πήραν . . . ῥόπαλον**: these souvenirs of their cremated saint were carefully preserved by the Cynics and sold as high-priced relics, if we may believe Lucian *Indoct.* 14 where Peregrinus's staff fetches about $1,000 as a precious relic, like a "piece of the true cross": *ἄλλος τις τὴν Πρωτέως τοῦ Κυνικοῦ βακτηρίαν, ἣν καταθέμενος ἥλατο ἐς τὸ πῦρ, ταλάντου κἀκεῖνος ἐπρίατο, καὶ ἔχει μὲν τὸ κειμήλιον τοῦτο καὶ δείκνυσιν ὡς Τεγεᾶται τοῦ Καλυδωνίου τὸ δέρμα καὶ Θηβαῖοι τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ Γηρυόνου καὶ Μεμφῖται τῆς Ἴσιδος τοὺς πλοκάμους.* — **ῥυπώσῃ ἀκριβῶς**: *consummately dirty.* The Cynic in full dress had much in common with the Laconomaniacs; cf. Ar. *Aves* 1282 *ἐκόμων, ἐπείνων, ἐρρύπων, ἐσωκράτων, | ἐσκυταλιοφόρουν.* — **ἡ μεσημβρία**: for the South as region of the dead in Indian literature see Introd. to *Peregr.* p. 200, note 2. — **ἐπήδησεν . . . ἑωρᾶτο . . . περιεσχέθη . . . ἠρμένης**: note the picturesque shift in the tenses.

37. **τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ δράματος**: see on § 3, and cf. *Alex.* 60 *τοιοῦτο τέλος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τραγῳδίας καὶ αὕτη τοῦ*

πατρῴους ἐπεκαλέσατο, ἀναμνησθεὶς τῶν περὶ τοῦ φόνου εἰρημένων οὐδὲ κατέχειν ἠδυνάμην τὸν γέλωτα. οἱ Κυνικοὶ δὲ περιστάντες τὴν πυρὰν οὐκ ἐδάκρυον μέν, σιωπῇ δὲ ἐνεδείκνυντο λύπην τινὰ εἰς τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶντες, ἄχρι δὴ ἀποπνιγεὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, Ἀπίωμεν, φημί, ὦ μάταιοι· οὐ γὰρ ἡδὺ τὸ θέαμα ὠπτημένον γέροντα ὁρᾶν κνίσης ἀναπιμπλαμένους πονηρᾶς. ἢ περιμένετε ἔστ᾽ ἂν γραφεύς τις ἐπελθὼν ἀπεικάσῃ ὑμᾶς οἵους τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἑταίρους τῷ Σωκράτει παραγράφουσιν; ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντό μοι, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς βακτηρίας ἧξαν. εἶτα ἐπειδὴ ἠπείλησα ξυναρπάσας τινὰς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ὡς ἂν ἕποιντο
38 τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ἐπαύσαντο καὶ εἰρήνην ἦγον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπανιὼν ποικίλα, ὦ ἑταῖρε, πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνενόουν, τὸ φιλόδοξον οἷόν τί ἐστιν ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς μόνος οὗτος ὁ ἔρως ἄφυκτος καὶ τοῖς πάνυ θαυμαστοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκείνῳ τἀνδρὶ καὶ τἆλλα ἐμπλήκτως καὶ ἀπονενοημένως βεβιωκότι
39 καὶ οὐκ ἀναξίως τοῦ πυρός. εἶτα ἐνετύγχανον πολλοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ὡς θεάσαιντο καὶ αὐτοί· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἔτι καταλήψεσθαι ζῶντα αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τόδε τῇ προτεραίᾳ διεδέδοτο, ὡς

παντὸς δράματος ἡ καταστροφή. — **περὶ τοῦ φόνου**: see § 10 ff. — **ἀποπνιγείς**: *choked with indignation.* — **κνίσης . . . πονηρᾶς**: in *Fugit.* 1 Zeus complains of the odious smell from the roasting Peregrinus: πολλὴν τὴν ἀηδίαν μέμνημαι ἀνασχόμενος τότε ὑπὸ κνίσης πονηρᾶς, and he asserts that he would have perished if he had not taken refuge amidst the frankincense and aromatic odors of Araby the blest. *Even to think of it,* he adds, *almost nauseates me,* ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὀλίγου δέω ναυτιᾶν ὑπομνησθεὶς αὐτῆς. — **γραφεύς**: *painter.* Blümner (*Archaeol. Stud. zu Luc.*, p. 82 note) refers to this as a purely imaginary painting. But we must conclude that such scenes were painted even then. — **τῷ Σωκράτει**: cf. the scenes in Plato's *Phaedo* and *Crito.* — **ἐπὶ τὰς βακτηρίας ἧξαν**: *made a start for their sticks.* The Heracles club is always in evidence. Cf. *Symp.* 19 κατοίσειν αὐτοῦ ἔφη τὴν βακτηρίαν *he'd fetch him a blow, he said, with his club.* See also on *Vit. Auct.* 7. — **ὡς ἄν**: for opt. see Introd. 35 (*b*).

38. **οὐχ ὅπως**: *let alone.* See GMT. 707.

39. **ἀπιοῦσιν**: i.e. leaving Olympia for Harpina. Cf. ἐξιόντων, § 35, used of the general exodus of spectators to their homes. See App. — **διεδέδοτο**:

πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἀσπασάμενος—ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνάς φασι ποιεῖν—ἐπιβήσεται τῆς πυρᾶς. ἀπέστρεφον δ' οὖν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν λέγων ἤδη τετελέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οἷς μὴ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ περισπούδαστον ἦν, κἂν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν τόπον καί τι λείψανον καταλαμβάνειν τοῦ πυρός. ἔνθα δή, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μυρία πράγματα εἶχον ἅπασι διηγούμενος καὶ ἀνακρίνουσι καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐκπυνθανομένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἴδοιμί τινα χαρίεντα, ψιλὰ ἂν ὥσπερ σοὶ τὰ πραχθέντα διηγούμην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βλᾶκας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν κεχηνότας ἐτραγῴδουν τι παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἀνήφθη μὲν ἡ πυρά, ἐνέβαλε δὲ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ὁ Πρωτεύς, σεισμοῦ πρότερον μεγάλου γενομένου σὺν μυκηθμῷ τῆς γῆς, γὺψ ἀναπτάμενος ἐκ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς οἴχοιτο ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρωπίνως μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ λέγων "ἔλιπον γᾶν, βαίνω δ' ἐς Ὄλυμπον." ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐτεθήπεσαν καὶ προσεκύνουν ὑποφρίττοντες καὶ ἀνέκρινόν με πότερον πρὸς ἕω ἢ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἐνεχθείη ὁ γύψ· ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ ἐπελθὸν ἀπεκρινάμην

40 *αὐτοῖς. ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ἐπέστην τινὶ πολιῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ νὴ τὸν Δί' ἀξιοπίστῳ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ πώγωνι καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σεμνότητι, τά τε ἄλλα διηγουμένῳ περὶ τοῦ Πρωτέως καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὸ καυθῆναι θεάσαιτο αὐτὸν ἐν λευκῇ*

word had been passed round. — **πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον**: so in *Men.* 7 and *V. H.* A 30, but in Thuc. 2, 9 the article is omitted. — **καί τι λείψανον**: *some relic.* See § 36. — **τινὰ χαρίεντα**: *some man of taste.* — **ψιλὰ . . . τὰ πραχθέντα**: *the bald facts.* — **ἐτραγῴδουν τι παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ**: *I'd work in a little stage-setting of my own.* — **σεισμοῦ**: not a very abnormal occurrence in that locality. Cf. *V. H.* B 43 πολλάκις κτλ. — **γύψ**: as appropriate a bird is selected for Peregrinus as the eagle (cf. *Anthol.* Lib. 3, Tit. 32, 3) that soared from Plato's tomb — it, too, speaking Greek fluently — or the dove that flew up from the fire at Polycarp's martyrdom. See Introd. to *Peregr.*, p. 205. — **ἀνθρωπίνως**: cf. *Gall.* 2 ἀνθρωπίνως ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἀλεκτρυών. See App. — **ἔλιπον γᾶν, βαίνω δ' ἐς Ὄλυμπον**:

> I 've abandoned the earth, to Olympus I fare.

Scan as anapaests. See Crusius, *Bursian's Jahresber.* 1901, p. 249.

40. **λευκῇ**: contrast with ῥυπώσῃ

ἐσθῆτι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ νῦν ἀπολίποι περιπατοῦντα φαιδρὸν ἐν τῇ ἑπταφώνῳ στοᾷ κοτίνῳ τε ἐστεμμένον· εἶτ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι προσέθηκε τὸν γῦπα, διομνύμενος ἦ μὴν αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι ἀναπτάμενον ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς, ὃν ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀφῆκα πέτεσθαι καταγελῶντα τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ βλακι-
41 *κῶν τὸν τρόπον. ἐννόει τὸ λοιπὸν οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι, ποίας μὲν οὐ μελίττας ἐπιστήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, τίνας δὲ τέττιγας οὐκ ἐπᾴσεσθαι, τίνας δὲ κορώνας οὐκ ἐπιπτήσεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου τάφον, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. εἰκόνας μὲν γὰρ παρά τε Ἠλείων αὐτῶν παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οἷς καὶ ἐπεσταλκέναι ἔλεγεν, αὐτίκα μάλα οἶδα πολλὰς ἀναστησομένας. φασὶ δὲ πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτὸν διαθήκας τινὰς καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ νόμους· καί τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρεσβευτὰς τῶν ἑταίρων ἐχειροτόνησε νεκραγγέλους καὶ νερτεροδρόμους προσαγορεύσας.*

§ 36. — **φαιδρόν**: part of the same contrast. In life the Cynics were *σκυθρωποί*. Cf. *Vit. Auct.* 7. — **ἐν τῇ ἑπταφώνῳ στοᾷ**: the foundations, one hundred yards in length, of this beautiful "Echo Colonnade" still remain. Pausanias (5, 21, 7) explains the name: *βοήσαντι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἑπτάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ἠχοῦς ἡ φωνὴ . . . ἀποδίδοται.* Like the famous "Painted Porch" in Athens, this also was called Ποικίλη, because there were *ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γραφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.* Possibly these may have existed only in the earlier stoa. See Frazer's *Pausanias* ad loc. — **κοτίνῳ**: evidently the vulture had returned with one of the Olympic wreaths of wild olive in its beak. — **καταγελῶντα**: *in mockery of.* The Peregrinus-vulture could laugh as easily as the Pythagoras-rooster (see *Gall.* 14 *τί μεταξὺ ἐγέλασας, ὦ ἀλεκτρυών;*) since both could speak *ἀνθρωπίνως*, see § 39. But see App.

41. **μελίττας**: the bee was a "divina bestia." Bees busied themselves with the child Plato, and Pausanias 9, 23, 2 relates of Pindar that, falling asleep at midday, *μέλισσαι αὐτῷ καθεύδοντι προσεπέτοντό τε καὶ ἔπλασσον πρὸς τὰ χείλη τοῦ κηροῦ.* — **κορώνας**: again Lucian makes merry over Pausanias and his courteous crow (see Paus. 9, 38, 3 and 4) that discovered to the Orchomenians the tomb of Hesiod. — **ἔλεγεν**: see App. — **ἀναστησομένας**: see § 27. — **ἐπιστολάς**: a common device. Tooke, ad loc., compares those sent out by the martyr Saint Ignatius. — **νεκραγγέλους**: *messengers from the dead.* Cf. *ἐξάγγελος.* — **νερτεροδρόμους**: *couriers of the underworld.* Cf. *ἡμεροδρόμος.* For parallels from Indian literature see Introd. to

42 Τοῦτο τέλος τοῦ κακοδαίμονος Πρωτέως ἐγένετο, ἀνδρός, ὡς βραχεῖ λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μὲν οὐδεπώποτε ἀποβλέψαντος, ἐπὶ δόξῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνῳ ἅπαντα εἰπόντος ἀεὶ καὶ πράξαντος, ὡς καὶ εἰς πῦρ ἁλέσθαι, ὅτε μηδ' ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἐπαίνων ἔμελλεν ἀναίσθητος αὐτῶν
43 γενόμενος. ἓν ἔτι σοι προσδιηγησάμενος παύσομαι, ὡς ἔχῃς ἐπὶ πολὺ γελᾶν· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ πάλαι οἶσθα εὐθὺς ἀκούσας μου ὅτε ἥκων ἀπὸ Συρίας διηγούμην ὡς ἀπὸ Τρῳάδος συμπλεύσαιμι αὐτῷ καὶ τήν τε ἄλλην τὴν ἐν τῷ πλῷ τρυφὴν καὶ τὸ μειράκιον τὸ ὡραῖον, ὃ ἔπεισε Κυνίζειν, ὡς ἔχοι τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ ὡς ἐπιταραχθείη μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι γνόφου καταβάντος καὶ κῦμα παμμέγεθες ἐγείραντος ⟨. . . . . . . δ⟩ὲ κωκύοι μετὰ τῶν γυναι-
44 κῶν, ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ θανάτου κρείττων εἶναι δοκῶν. ἀλλὰ μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς, πρὸ ἐννέα σχεδόν που ἡμερῶν, πλεῖον, οἶμαι, τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἐμφαγὼν ἤμεσέ τε τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἑάλω πυρετῷ μάλα σφοδρῷ. ταῦτα δέ μοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἰατρὸς διηγήσατο μετακληθεὶς ὡς ἐπισκοπήσειεν αὐτόν· ἔφη οὖν καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν χαμαὶ κυλιόμενον καὶ τὸν φλογμὸν

Peregr., p. 200, note 2. Lucian in this letter seems to have the Hindus much in mind, cf. §§ 25 and 36.

42. Τοῦτο τέλος . . . ἐγένετο: cf. Plato *Phaedo* ad fin. ἡ τελευτὴ . . . ἐγένετο. — **ὡς . . . ἁλέσθαι**: see Introd. 26.

43. Κυνίζειν: *to turn Cynic*; so Origen uses Ἐπικουρίζω. Cf. Μηδίζω and Ἑλληνίζω. — **ὡς . . . Ἀλκιβιάδην**: *that he too might have an Alcibiades*, i.e. as well as Socrates, see § 12. — **ἐπιταραχθείη μὲν . . . κωκύοι**: see App. — **ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι**: see App. — **γνόφου . . . ἐγείραντος**: as the text stands γνόφου should, perhaps, be rendered "cloudburst"; a *black cloud* could not kick up a tremendous sea!. To fill up the lacuna indicated we might read τοῦ πνεύματος, αὐτὸς δ)ὲ. Cf. *Char.* § 3 and § 7 χειμὼν ἄφνω καὶ γνόφος ἐμπεσὼν . . . περιέτρεψεν, and see App. — **(αὐτὸς δ)ὲ κωκύοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν**: *while he joined in their women's shrieking with the best of them*; i.e. αὐτός in contrast to γυναῖκες. See App. for κωκύοι.

44. ἀλλά: in contrast to ἐκεῖνα πάλαι, § 43. — **ἐμφαγών**: the compound denotes greediness or haste like ἐμπίνω. — **ἑάλω**: so used in *Symp.* 20, where a man is seized with brain fever: φρενίτιδι ἑαλωκότα. — **μετακληθεὶς ὡς ἐπισκοπήσειεν**: *called in to see him*

οὐ φέροντα καὶ ψυχρὸν αἰτοῦντα πάνυ ἐρωτικῶς, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ δοῦναι, καίτοι εἰπεῖν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰ πάντως θανάτου δέοιτο, ἥκειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτόματον, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ἕπεσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ πυρὸς δεόμενον· τὸν δ᾽ αὖ φάναι· Ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔνδοξος ὁ τρόπος γένοιτ᾽ ἂν πᾶσι κοινὸς ὤν.

45 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐγκεχρισμένον, ὡς ἀποδακρύσειε τῷ δριμεῖ φαρμάκῳ. ὁρᾷς; οὐ πάνυ τοὺς ἀμβλυώττοντας ὁ Αἰακὸς παραδέχεται. ὅμοιον ὡς εἴ τις ἐπὶ σταυρὸν ἀναβήσεσθαι μέλλων τὸ ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ πρόσπταισμα θεραπεύοι. τί σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Δημόκριτος, εἰ ταῦτα εἶδε; κατ᾽ ἀξίαν γελάσαι ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί; καίτοι πόθεν εἶχεν ἂν ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον γέλωτα; σὺ δ᾽ οὖν, ὦ φιλότης, γέλα καὶ αὐτός, καὶ μάλιστα ὁπόταν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούῃς θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν.

(*professionally*). — **ψυχρόν**: sc. ποτόν or ὕδωρ. — **ἐρωτικῶς**: *coaxingly*, lit. "like a lover." — **αὐτὸν δὲ**: see App. — **μὴ δοῦναι**: see Introd. 39 (*a*); perhaps justify μή by the prohibition in the doctor's thought. — **ἥκειν αὐτὸν . . . αὐτόματον**: *here he is come of his own motion.*

45. **ἐγκεχρισμένον**: (*with his eyes*) *all plastered up* (sc. *with collyrium*). — **τῷ δριμεῖ φαρμάκῳ**: *from the pungent unguent.* — **ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ**: sc. τοῦ ποδός, *in his toe*, as is shown by πρόσπταισμα. Cf. προσπταίσας *Vit. Auct.* 21 and note.

APPENDIX

A — MANUSCRIPTS[1]

The extant Mss. of Lucian are numerous. Of these the collections in Florence, Rome, and Paris are the richest. It is not yet[2] possible to make out a stemma of the Lucian Mss. and to trace back their descent through at least two[3] lines to an archetype as yet undiscovered. And the individual Mss. themselves are often self-contradictory if we take them as continuous. Several of the best, though cited respectively as single codices, are really composite both as to date and material. This fact makes a strict chronological list impracticable, if not impossible, for the present. In the resulting uncertainty conjectural emendation is unusually tempting, and sometimes unavoidable.

The chief Mss. cited in these notes are[4] —

1. B. Codex Vindobonensis. Of vellum and disgracefully mutilated. Nineteen dialogues are missing at the beginning. The *Peregrinus* has been cut out of the middle. It was written early in the tenth

[1] For an account of Lucian Mss. see Paul Vogt, *De Luciani libellorum pristino ordine quaestiones*, Marpurgi 1889. H. Gräven, *Florentiner Lukianhandschriften* (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philolog.-histor. Klasse, 1896, S. 341–356). R. Förster, *Zur Görlitzer Lukianhandschrift*, Rhein. Mus. XLIX (1894), 167 ff. Chabert, *L'Atticisme de Lucien*, p. 77 ff., catalogues the more important Mss. according to their present homes.

[2] See Christ, *Griech. Lit.*[4], 1905, p. 779. The expected edition of Lucian Scholia (by Gräven-Rabe) should throw light upon the question.

[3] Fritzsche, II, p. ix, and III, pp. xvii, xviii, suggested a tentative division into two families. See also Chabert, op. cit., p. 80.

[4] The order here given is combined from Christ (i.e. B, E, 𝔄, T, Ω) and Sbdt. who (vol. III, p. iv) rates 𝔄, T, Ω, Ψ as holding "primum in codicibus locum;" next B and Φ, and Mut. as good though badly preserved. A (used constantly in the earlier volumes) he now recognizes as full of errors. For his earlier view see vol. I, p. vii. In vol. II, p. vi, he gives this order: B, 𝔄, T, Φ (antiqua manus), Ψ, Mut., Ω.

century and contains scholia. Of our selections it contains only *Char.*, *D. Deor.*, *D. Mar.*, *D. Mort.*

2. E. Codex Harleianus Oxoniensis 5694 or Wittianus (Vogt). Of vellum. There remain 134 leaves of the original 504. Fritzsche claims that Ω may go back to this. It contains none of our selections.
3. 𝔄. Vaticanus 87. Well preserved. Apparently of fourteenth (or fifteenth) century. It is put by some, next after Γ, at the head of the Vatican Mss. of Lucian. There are no scholia. It contains all of the pieces here edited, including the *Peregrinus*. It also contains (in addition to the works of Philostratus and parts of the Greek Anthology) the anonymous dialogue, written in imitation of Lucian's *Necyomantia* (see Introd., p. xx, note 1), Τιμαρίων ἢ περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων.
4. Γ. Vaticanus 90. It is one of the very best. Folia (of vellum) 5–173, 176–253, are of the eleventh or twelfth century; folia (of paper) 1–4, 174, 175, 254–353, of the fifteenth century. It is mutilated at the end and there are scholia to fol. 28–29, 108–138, 330–353. Of our selections it contains: in the ancient parts, *Somn.*, *D. Deor.*, *Char.*, *Vit. Auct.*, *Pisc.*, *V. H.*, and *Peregr.*; in the parts of later date, *D. Deor.* (again), *D. Mar.*, *D. Mort.*
5. Ω. The Venetian codex Marcianus 434. Like Γ it is in two parts, but both are of vellum. Fol. 1–268 apparently of the twelfth century; fol. 269–447 of the fifteenth century. First collated by Sommerbrodt. In the first (twelfth century) part are contained all of our selections except *Peregr.*, the other part includes *Peregr.*; see below.
6. Ψ. Marcianus 436. It is a chartaceus of the fourteenth century, and all by the same hand. Incomplete, but contains of the pieces here edited *Somn.*, *Vit. Auct.*, *Pisc.*, *D. Deor.*, *D. Mort.*, and No. 15 of *D. Mar.*
7. Φ. Codex Florentinus s. Laurentianus. The best of the Florentine Mss. of Lucian. It is written in four hands; the earliest Vogt ascribes to the tenth century. (Fr. ascribes the Ms. to the twelfth century.) It is partly on vellum and partly on paper. Very complete, containing most of Lucian's works. Of our selections *Somn.*, *Vit. Auct.*, *Pisc.* (in part), and *D. Mort.* are written in the first hand, but *Char.*, *D. Deor.*, *D. Mar.*, and *Peregr.* are lacking.
8. Mut. Codex Mutinensis. This Modena Ms. is of vellum. It is of the tenth century; mutilated at beginning and end. It contains all of our selections except *Peregr.*

9. A. Codex Gorlicensis. The order of the pieces is nearly the same as in the Paris codex C, which this codex resembles so closely that we cannot claim for it an independent value. Schmid (*Bursians Jahresber.* 108, p. 238) calls it "worthless," but cf. Sorof *Vindiciae Luc.*, Halle 1898, for a partial defense. It contains all of our selections except *Peregr.* Sbdt. had formerly relied greatly upon A, but in Vol. III says it is partly good and partly mendosissimus.

10. Ups. Codex Upsalensis. Of the twelfth century. It is much used by Sbdt. for *Somn.* and for those parts of *D. Deor.*, *D. Mar.*, and *D. Mort.* which it contains.

11, 12, 13. P, C, M. Of these three Paris Mss., P is very ancient but yields us only six dialogues of *D. Mort.*

C (No. 3011) is of the twelfth century and is written in several hands. Almost complete, but *Peregr.*, as usual, is missing. *Somn.*, *V. H.*, *Vit. Auct.*, *Pisc.*, *D. Deor.*, *D. Mar.*, *D. Mort.*, are in the earlier hand.

M (No. 2954) is in two parts, i.e. fol. 184–335 of the twelfth century; fol. 1–183 of the fourteenth century. It contains all, including *Peregr.* This latter and *V. H.* are in the younger part; the rest of our selections are in the older.

14. Urb. Codex Urbinas 121, at Rome. It was collated by Sbdt. in 1886 and used for *Char.* It is very similar to 𝔄.

15. F. Guelferbytanus primus. This Wolfenbüttel Codex of the fourteenth century (Jacobitz, thirteenth century) contains all of our selections (including *Peregr.*) except *Char.*, *Vit. Auct.*, and *Pisc.*

For the Peregrinus (in addition to those above mentioned which contain it) the following are especially used by Levi.[1]

P_1. Palatinus 73 (not to be confused with P above = Paris 690). Of this Levi says: Codex inter omnes opusculum de quo nunc agimus continentes praestantissimus videtur.

P_2. Palatinus 174.

V_3. Vaticanus 89. First collated by Levi. He designates Γ (Vatican 90) as V_1, and 𝔄 (Vatican 87) as V_2.

[1] *Luciani Samosatensis libellus qui inscribitur* περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς. *Recensuit Lionello Levi, quinque Vaticanae Bibliothecae codicibus unoque Marciano nunc primum inspecto.* Berolini apud Weidmannos 1892. See below, Crit. Notes to *Peregr.*

Y. MARCIANUS 435. This Venetian Ms., collated by Levi for the first time, is regarded by Fr. and Sbdt. as derived from Ω.

As the *Peregrinus* was either left out or cut out of many Mss. to satisfy Christian prejudices, Levi makes especial use of F, V_1(= Γ, Vat. 90), V_2 (= 𝔄, Vat. 87), V_3 (= Vat. 89), P_1 (Palat. 73), P_2 (Palat. 174), Ω (Marc. 434), Y (Marc. 435), M (Paris 2954). In V_1 and in P_1 he also denotes first, second, and third hand by adding I, II, III, respectively.

B — EDITIONS

EDITIO PRINCEPS. *Luciani Samosatensis Opera omnia.* Florentiae, sine typographo, 1496. Fol.

Aldina prima. *Luciani Opera, Icones Philostrati,* etc. Venice 1503.

Aldina secunda. *Luciani Dialogi et alia multa Opera. Imagines Philostrati. Eiusdem Heroica. Eiusdem Vitae Sophistarum,* etc. Venice 1522. Many later editions are based on this, including the Paris edition of 1615, which in turn the edition of Reitz followed (see Fr., I, p. xiii).

Bourdelotius. *Luciani Samosatensis Philosophi Opera omnia quae exstant. Cum Latina doctiss. virorum interpretatione.* Paris 1615. Fol.

For other editions from 1516 to 1743 see Reitz, I, pp. 65 ff. (especially Erasmus and Thomas More, 1516, and Melanchthon, 1527). See also Introd., p. xxi.

Hemsterhuis-Reitz. ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΕΩΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ. *Luciani Samosatensis Opera. Cum nova versione Tiber. Hemsterhusii et Io. Matthiae Gesneri, Graecis scholiis, ac notis omnium proximae editionis Commentatorum additis,* etc. Amsterdam 1743. 4to, 3 vols. The first (one sixth) part only by Hemsterhuis.

—— *Luciani Samosatensis Opera Graece et Latine ad editionem Tiberii Hemsterhusii et Ioannis Frederici Reitzii accurate expressa cum varietate lectionis et annotationibus.* Biponti (Zweibrücken) 1789. Reference is made in the present work to this 1789 edition as "Reitz." This differs from the edition of 1743, apart from the form, in substituting an index in place of the lexicon and in adding the variants (taken from the Paris Mss.) published in the French translation by M. Belin de Ballu.

Lehmann. *Luciani Opera Gr. et Lat. post T. Hemsterh. et I. Fr. Reitzium denuo castig. c. var. lect., scholiis Gr., adnotatt. et indd. ed. I. Thph. Lehmann.* Leipzig 1822–1831. 8vo, 9 vols.

Jacobitz. *Lucianus ex recensione Caroli Jacobitz.* Leipzig 1836–1841. 8vo, 4 vols. Vol. IV contains Scholia and Index Graecus.

—— *Luciani Samosatensis Opera ex recognitione Caroli Jacobitz.* Teubner text. Leipzig. 3 vols. 1896–1897. Used as basis of the present selections.

Dindorf. *Luciani Opera ex recensione Guilelmi Dindorfii graecè et latinè cum indicibus.* Paris 1840 (Didot).

—— *Luciani Samosatensis Opera ed. Guil. Dindorf.* Leipzig 1850–1858. 3 vols. (Tauchnitz edit.)

—— In the Didot edit. of *Herodotus*, pp. xlii–xlvii under Dindorf's *Commentatio de dialecto Herodoti*, see § 22 *De dialecto Ionica Luciani.*

Bekker. *Lucianus Gr. ab Imm. Bekkero recognitus.* Leipzig 1853. 8vo, 2 vols.

Fritzsche. *Lucianus Samosatensis Franciscus Fritzschius recensuit.* Rostock 1860–1882. 3 vols. (not completed). Contains prolegomena and critical notes.

Sommerbrodt. *Lucianus recogn. Julius Sommerbrodt.* Berlin 1886–1899. 3 vols. (not completed). With various readings and "Adnotatio Critica."

—— *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian: erklärt von J. Sommerbrodt.* Berlin 1872–1878. 3 vols. Contains an admirable introduction, pp. xi–xxxii.

Jacobitz. *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian: erklärt von K. Jacobitz.* Leipzig 1865–1883.

Levi. *Luciani Samosatensis Libellus qui inscribitur περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς. Recens. Lionello Levi.* Berlin 1892.

Apart from the critical editions, the annotated edition of Sommerbrodt and the following editions with English notes have by repeated use with classes furnished many suggestions to the present editor:

Williams, C. R. *Selections from Lucian.* Boston 1882.

Jerram, C. S. *Luciani Vera Historia.* Revised edit. Oxford 1892. Edited for schools with slightly abridged text. Contains an excellent and suggestive introduction.

C — TRANSLATIONS

For other translations, previous to 1789, in Latin, German, French, English, Italian, and Spanish, see Reitz. I, pp. lxvi–lxix and lxxv, lxxvi. E.g. by Erasmus and Thomas More, Paris 1514 (repeated at Basel, 1517 and 1521) and by Erasmus, Strasburg 1519.

For still fuller description see Graesse's *Dictionnaire Bibliographique*.

LATIN

See the Hemsterhuis-Reitz, Lehmann, and Dindorf (Didot) editions above.

GERMAN

Lucians von Samosata sämmtliche Werke. Aus dem griechischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und Erläuterungen versehen von C. M. Wieland. Leipzig 1788–1789. 8vo, 6 parts. Although more of a paraphrase than a translation, it is justly praised. "In qua totus vivit spiratque Lucianus" (Reitz.).

Lucian's Werke übersetzt von August Pauly. Stuttgart 1827–1832. Often useless in more doubtful passages.

Bernays in *Lucian und die Kyniker*, Berlin 1879, translates the *Peregrinus*.

FRENCH

Des Œuvres de Lucien trad. par Nicolas Perrot Sr. Dablancourt. Paris 1654. 4to, 2 vols. Known as "la Belle infidèle." The English version by Spence (London 1684) seems to have been based on this.

Œuvres de Lucien, traduites du grec (par J. N. Belin de Ballu). Paris 1788–1789. 4to, 6 vols. A "portrait" of Lucian is given in Vol. I, and in the preface an interesting criticism of previous translators, especially of the French translators. In lieu of expurgating, the translator resorts to Latin. This version is not mentioned by Reitz until the end of his (1789–1793) edition, vol. X, p. 123, where the variants taken from the Paris Mss. by M. Belin de Ballu are given as an appendix.

Croiset gives translations (passim) in his *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucien.* Paris 1882.

ENGLISH

The Works of Lucian, translated by Thomas Francklin, sometime Greek Professor in the University of Cambridge. London 1780. 4to, 2 vols. This

is, as Reitz calls it, "versio excellens." It contains a vignette of Lucian.

Lucian of Samosata from the Greek, with the comments of Wieland and others. William Tooke, London 1820. 4to, 2 vols. Quaint, often vigorous, but often exceedingly far from both the style and the meaning of the author. His serious defence of Lucian in his notes is often as amusing as is Lucian himself.

Among more modern translations:

Selections from Lucian. Translated by Emily James Smith. New York 1892. This racy translation contains, amongst others, three of Lucian's little read but good pieces: the *Cataplus*, *Asinus*, and *Toxaris*.

Translations from Lucian, by Augusta M. C. Davidson. London 1904. Includes the *Hermotimus*.

D — SUPPLEMENTARY WORKS

For convenience of reference some of the more important works bearing especially upon Lucian are here given.

For Lucian's Greek, see p. xxx.

1. Whole books and larger treatises specifically upon Lucian.

Croiset: *La Vie et les Œuvres de Lucien*, 1882, 396 pp.

Gildersleeve: *Lucian* (in *Essays and Studies*, 1890, pp. 299–351).

Schmid: *Der Atticismus*, 1887, I, pp. 216–432.

Sommerbrodt: *Allgemeine Einleitung*, in his *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian*, 1872, pp. xi–xlii. This includes a bibliography and a discussion of the genuine and spurious writings of Lucian.

Bolderman: *Studia Lucianea* (Leyden dissertation, 1893). Includes, pp. 136–139, a bibliography; and, pp. 132–135, a *Tabula Chronologica*. It is easier to disagree in certain details with this chronological arrangement than it is to offer a completely satisfactory substitute.

Christ: *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*,[4] 1905, pp. 767–779.

Bernays: *Lucian und die Kyniker*, 1879.

Hirzel: *Der Dialog*, 1895, II, pp. 269–334.[1]

Chabert: *L'Atticisme de Lucien*, 1897, 241 pp.

[1] Compare Hirzel, I, p. 327, with the reference to Cyrano de Bergerac, supra, p. xxiii.

Martha: *Les Moralistes sous l'empire romain*,[3] 1873; esp. pp. 333–384, "Le Scepticisme religieux et philosophique. Lucien."
Collins: *Lucian*,[2] 1897.

2. The following have reference to Lucian's place as a writer or to his times.

Norden: *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 1898 (passim[1]).
Friedländer: *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1873 (passim).
Sandys: *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 1903.
Saintsbury: *History of Criticism*, 1900–1904.
Mahaffy: *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, 1890.
Milne: *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 1898.
Butcher: *Harvard Studies on Greek Subjects*, 1904. See pp. 244 ff., "Greek Literary Criticism," for a short analysis of Lucian as pamphleteer and artist.
Dill: *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904, esp. Bk. I, c. 2, "The World of the Satirist"; Bk. II, c. 2, "The Philosophic Missionary"; Bk. IV, c. 1, "Superstition"; c. 2, "Belief in Immortality"; c. 6, "The Religion of Mithra."

3. Select[2] dissertations.

Brambs, *Citate und Reminiscenzen bei Lucian*, 1888; Blümner, see above, pp. 4, 160, 169, 232; Bruns, *Lucians philosophische Schriften*, Rh. Mus. 1888; Burmeister, *De locis quibusdam Luciani*, 1845; Dee, *De ratione, quae est inter Asinum pseudolucianeum Apuleique Metamorphoseon libros*, 1891; Du Mesnil, *Grammatica, quam Lucianus in suis scriptis secutus est, ratio*, 1867; Förster, see above, p. xx, and see also App. A; Fritzsche, various dissertations, 1852–1867; Gildersleeve, see above, pp. xxx, xxxix; Gräven, see above, App. A; Hartman, *Studia critica in Luciani opera*, 1877; Hasse, see above, p. xxxv; Heinrich, *Lukian und Horaz*, 1885; Heller, see above, p. xxxix; Helm, see above, p. xiii and pp. 89, 93; Herwerden, *Plutarchea et Lucianea*, 1877; Hofmann, *Kritische Untersuchungen zu Lucian*, 1894; Jacob, *Characteristik Lucians von Samosata*, 1832; Joost, *De Luciano φιλομήρῳ*, 1883, and *Beobachtungen über den Partikelgebrauch Lucians*, 1895;

[1] On p. 394 will be found a very unfavorable judgment of Lucian.

[2] It would be impracticable to give here a complete list of the dissertations upon Lucian, or even of the many which have been repeatedly consulted by the present editor. For some of the more important previous to 1893 see Bolderman, pp. 136–139; for many more recent see *Bursians Jahresber.*, 1901, pp. 234–257.

Kersten, *Wielands Verhältnis zu Lucian*, 1900; Kock, *Lukian und die Komödie*, Rh. Mus., 1888; Kühn, see above, p. 55; Margadant, see above, p. 88; Milden, see above, p. xxxvii; Nilén, *Adnotationes Lucianeae*, Nordisk Tidskrift, IX, 1889–1890, pp. 241–306, and *Luciani Codex Mutinensis*, Upsala, 1888; Passow, *Lucian und die Geschichte*, 1854; Penick, see above, pp. xvi, xxxviii; Rein, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Lucian*, 1894; Rentsch, see above, pp. xx, xxvii, and 188; Richard, *Ueber die Lykinosdialoge des Lukian*, 1886; Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*², 1899; Oscar Schmidt, *Metapher und Gleichnis in den Schriften Lukians*, 1897, and *Lukians Satiren gegen den Glauben seiner Zeit*, 1900; Schulze, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Lucianum et comicos Graecorum poetas*, 1883; Schumacher, see above, p. xx; Sorof, *Vindiciae Lucianeae*, 1898; Thimme, *Quaestiones Lucianeae*, 1884; Vahlen, *Lucianus de Cynicis*, 1882; Vogt, see App. A; Wissowa, *Geschichte des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, 1853; Ziegeler, *De Luciano poetarum iudice*, 1872, and *Studien zu Lucian*, 1879.

Amongst emendations contributed to the text the following may be mentioned especially: Cobet in *Variae Lectiones*, 1854; Headlam, various conjectures in *Journal of Philology*, 1895; Madvig in *Adversaria critica ad scriptores graecos*, 1871; Schwidop, *Specimina observationum Lucianearum*, 1848–1872; Sommerbrodt, *Lucianea*, 1872. For others see *Bursians Jahresber.*, 1901, l.c.

E — CRITICAL NOTES

The text followed is that of Jacobitz, Teubner edition, 1896, and the changes adopted in these selections are given first. Minor and obvious changes in accents, breathing, punctuation, etc., are not noted. Besides the letters indicating the Mss. (see above) the following abbreviations are used: Jac., the text of the Teubner edition; Sbdt., Sommerbrodt; Fr., Fritzsche; Reitz., Reitz-Hemsterhuis edition; Cob., Cobet; Dind., Dindorf; Lehm., Lehmann; Bek., Bekker. *Harv. Stud.* XII, Allinson, "Lucianea" in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. XII, pp. 181–190.

For special abbreviations for Mss. of Peregrinus, see below.

SOMNIUM

Title: Fr. (on *Peregr.* init.), following Thomas and Hemsterhuis, admits only *περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου*. See Remacly's strictures on the double titles of Lucian's works, *Observat. in Hermotimum*, pp. 1–16.

2. δίδασκε: Sbdt. *διδάσκου* (from Ψ) on account of *διδάξομαι* § 10; he retains, however, *Vit. Auct.* 3, both *διδάξεις* and *διδάξομαι*. Fr. (and see Veitch *Gr. Verbs*)

confines the confusion to fut. and aor.: "*Praesenti tempore Lucianus nusquam dixit* διδάσκομαι *pro* διδάσκω, *sed idem habet* διδάξομαι *pro* διδάξω, *raro* ἐδιδαξάμην *pro* ἐδίδαξα." Lucian, moreover, would probably follow Ar. *Nub.* 877, ἀμέλει δίδασκε, which he certainly had in mind. — **ἔχων δεξιῶς**: Sbdt. with Ψ Γ 𝔄 Φ Ups. for τυχὼν δεξιᾶς. — **ἀνέπλαττον**: the simple verb ἔπλαττεν (cf. Ar. *Nub.* 879) suggests ἂν ἔπλαττον despite the close repetition of ἄν. The compound, however, may mean *moulding into new shapes.* — **εἰκότας**: Hartman, for εἰκότως retained by Sbdt. in text though he gives Weichmann's ἐοικότας in *adn. crit.* I, II, p. ix. Cf. *Pisc.* 38.

3. **ἐπιτήδειος**: Sbdt. with six Mss. for ἐπιτηδεία. Cf. Dr. Otto Wilhelm, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Lucians hinsichtlich der sogenannten Adjectiva dreier Endungen auf* -ος, p. 40.

4. **ἀναλύζων**: the variants in the Mss., ἀνολύζων Α Ω Γ Φ C, ἀναβλύζων 𝔄, point to this; cf. *Peregr.* 6 ἀπῆγον αὐτὸν λύζοντα. Reitz. and Jac. ἀνολολύζων. — **ἀγανακτησάσης**: for vulg. ἀγανακτησαμένης, which is perhaps due to λοιδορησαμένης in next line. Cf. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας § 3. ἀνακτησαμένης in Α Γ Ups. Φ (*having revived me* or *getting me back safe*) is less suited to the meaning of λοιδορησαμένης. — **τὴν σκυτάλην**: Steigerthal for τὴν νύκτα ὅλην. Sbdt. accepts and adds ἀεί before ἐννοῶν, cf. *Lucianea*, p. 160.

6. **ταῖν**: Sbdt. (with Cob. and Dind.) emends to τοῖν. But see Chabert, p. 102: *Le duel feminin* τά *apparaît une seule fois, et encore dans la bouche du pedant Lexiphane* (4), *qui croit faire une atticisme. L'expression* ταῖν χεροῖν *semble être proverbiale. . . . Pour les cas droits, on trouve* τώ, *même avec* χεῖρε. Sbdt. (vol. III, 1899) in *Bis Acc.* 2 (one of the seven passages cited by Chabert) now retains ταῖν χεροῖν. — **καὶ γὰρ καί**: C Ω Ψ 𝔄 Φ (in rasura), cf. *Lexiph.* 13. Jac. καὶ γάρ. For Lucian's combinations with καί cf. Chabert, p. 151. — **καὶ αὐχμηρά**: Schwarz omits καί, which is tempting, as αὐχμηρά would then head a list of two pairs arranged chiastically.

7. **οἴκοθεν**: Fr., on account of οἰκεία, reads μητρόθεν citing *Tox.* 51.

8. **σχήματος**: vulg. σώματος, cf. Fr. In § 6, Φ has σῶμα for σχῆμα. — **δόξεις**: Jac. γένοιο. Sbdt. has ἔσῃ in text, but δόξεις *adn. crit.* p. x. — **πάμπολλα**: Sbdt. with Α Ω Ψ Γ C (πάμπολα Ups. Φ) for Jac. πάντοθεν. — **γὰρ ἤδη μου τὴν μνήμην**: Sbdt. with six Mss. for Jac. γάρ μου τὴν μνήμην ἤδη.

9. **εἰς, ἀεὶ τὸν προὔχοντα ὑποπτήσσων**: Sbdt. εἰς ἀεὶ τὸν κτλ., cf. *Lucianea*, p. 106. Fr. transposes, εἶς, τὸν ἀεὶ προὔχοντα. With this cf. Plato *Apol.* 37 c δουλεύοντα τῇ ἀεὶ καθισταμένῃ ἀρχῇ. Sbdt. *Ausgew. Schrift. Luk.*, ad loc., cites many passages where εἰς ἀεί means "*für alle Zeiten, d.i. dein ganzes Leben lang.*" But the sense here desired, if not required, is *on each and every occasion crouching down to*, etc. Moreover, the expression is reminiscent of Aesch. *Prom.* 958 θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί (construed by Paley as if in the order here suggested by Fr.) and of *Prom.* 981 ὑποπτήσσειν τε τοὺς νέους θεούς. The adv., used emphatically at the head of the clause, may be construed both with ὑποπτήσσων and θεραπεύων. For similar separation of the adverb see *Char.* 12 end, and Dem.

de Cor. 263 *λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν.* If Lucian had this passage from Demosthenes in mind (as may be inferred from his quoting this proverb in the next line) he did *not* write *εἰς ἀεί.* Finally, there would thus be a rhetorical balance: *ἐργάτης . . . εἷς, ὑποπτήσσων . . . θεραπεύων, ζῶν . . . ὤν.* See *Harv. Stud.* XII, 181. — **εἰ ἔχει**: Sbdt. with 𝔄 for vulg. *ἔχοι.*

10. **ὅπερ σοι**: with six of the best Mss.; Fr. and Sbdt. *σοι ὅπερ.* Vulg. *ὅπερ σου.*

11. **βουλευσάμενός τι**: Sbdt. *ἄρτι* for *τι.* — **κἄν που**: Cob. (Sbdt.) *ποι.*

12. **ἢ τοὺς φίλους**: Sbdt. for *ἢ καὶ τοὺς φίλους.* *ἢ* is retained from Γ and *καί* omitted with Ups. — **εὐδαιμονίζοντες καὶ σέ**: vulg. without *καί.* Sbdt.'s chiastic arrangement is tempting: *θαυμάζοντές σε τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῆς εὐπαιδίας εὐδαιμονίζοντες.* Fr. transposes and reads *εὐδαιμονίζοντες τὸν πατέρα κτλ.* — **εὐπαιδίας**: Ψ and Hemsterhuis by conjecture for *εὐποτμίας.* — **γίγνονταί τινες**: Sbdt. with six Mss. for *τινες γίγνονται.* — **ἦν, ὅπως**: Sbdt. for *ἦν; ἀλλ' ὅμως*: *ὅπως* with seven Mss. For omission of *ἀλλ'* see Fr. ad loc.

13. **σὺ τοὺς**: Hahn for *αὐτούς.* For the article cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 305 *τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν.*

14. **πληγὰς εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀλίγας**: Sbdt. with Mss. for *πληγὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας εὐθύς.* — **ἐνέπριε**: for *συνέπριε.* *ἐ*(ras.)*πριεν* Ω; *ἐνέπριε* C and vulg.; *ἔπριε* Sbdt.

15. [**ὅτι . . . ἐδίκασας**]: with Sbdt. and Schwarz. — **ὑπόπτερον**: for *ὑποπτέρων.* See Sbdt. *adn. crit.* I, ii, xi. Cf. also Aesch. *Prom.* 135 *ὄχῳ πτερωτῷ.* To support vulg. cf. *Hist. Conscr.* 8: *ἵππων ὑποπτέρων ἅρμα.* — **ἐκεῖνο**: Ω Ψ 𝔄 Γ Φ.

16. **τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτα**: for vulg. *τὴν ἐσθῆτα.* Cf. Sbdt. — **ἀλλά μοι**: see Sbdt. Vulg. *ἀλλ' ἐμοί.* — **ἐδείκνυεν αὐτῷ ἐκείνη**: with 𝔄 only, for *ἐδείκνυεν αὐτῷ ἐκείνην.* The accusative seems to bring confusion into the passage, and may have slipped in from *ἐσθῆτα ἐκείνην* above. — **ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν**: Sbdt. with Mss. for *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.*

17. **καὶ γεγηρακότων**: Sbdt. omits *ἤδη* with seven Mss. — **καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ**: Ψ. Jac. has *καίεσθαι ἡ πατρῴα οἰκία.* Sbdt. reads *πυρκαϊά.* See *Harv. Stud.* XII, 182. — **ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ μάχῃ**: Sbdt. with 𝔄; Jac. *ἐν πολέμῳ.*

18. **πρὸς τὰ ἥττω**: for *πρὸς τὴν ἥττω.* Cf. Sbdt., *adn. crit.*

CHARON

1. **παρέχοιμι καὶ αὐτός**: Sbdt. with four Mss. for *καὶ αὐτὸς παρέχοιμι.* — **λάλον**: Brod. and Mss. *ἄλλον.* — **ἀμβλυώττω**: Sbdt. ex codd.; Jac. *ἀμβλυώττων.*

2. **ὡς**: see Fr. To avoid inserting this *ὡς*, inferring *δεήσει* or *ἀναγκάσει* from *κωλύσει*, perhaps read *σχολῇ* or *σχολαίως* for *κωλύσει.* The Latin and Greek parallels usually cited are questionable: n e g o easily suggests the affirmative, and in Soph. *O. T.* 236–241 from *ἀπαυδῶ* we either understand (see Earle ad loc.) *αὐδῶ* with *ὠθεῖν*, or, better, tr. *ἀπαυδῶ* as in Ar. *Ran.* 369, *I forbid.*

3. **ἢ ὑψηλότερος**: for *ὑψηλότερος ἤ*, see Fr. — **φαῦλόν τι**: Sbdt. with 𝔄 Urb. for *φαῦλον ὅ.*

4. **ὁρᾷς ὅπως**; Fr. Sbdt. ex codd. for *ὁρᾷς, πῶς*; If vulg. is retained write *ὁρᾷς; πῶς;*

5. **οἰκοδομικῆς**: Sbdt. with 𝔄 Γ Urb. for *οἰκοδομητικῆς*. — **ἀσφαλῶς γάρ**: Mss.; Jac. with A omits *γάρ*.

6. **ἔγωγε**: for *ἐγὼ οὖν*, also *ἤρου γε* for *ἤρου με* and *τί δέ*; for *τί δαί*; Sbdt. ex codd. — **κληθείς τις**: for Jac. *κληθείς*. Unless *τινὸς*, two lines above, is masc., *τὶς* seems necessary; and it could easily have been lost here. — **ἐμπεσοῦσα**: A Ω 𝔄 for *ἐπιπεσοῦσα*. — **οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τοῦ οἰκήματος**: A Ω Γ C for *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτου κινήσαντος*.

7. **ὀξυδερκέστατόν σε**: Sbdt. adds *σε*. — **γινώσκῃς**: Mss. for *γιγνώσκῃς* in the Homeric citation. — **παρακούσας**: for *ἀκούσας*, see Fr.

8. **τίς τ' ἄρ'**: Fr. restored from Homer for *τίς γάρ*.

9. **ἄρχοι**: with Ω Γ for *ἄρχειν*.

10. ΧΑΡ. **Φησὶν οὗτος**: 𝔄 Urb. omit. — **τὸ πορθμεῖον αὐτό**: Ω 𝔄 Urb. Γ for *τὸ πορθμεῖον αὐτός*.

11. **ὡς ὁρᾷς· καταγελᾷ γάρ**: Fr. Sbdt. ex codd. for *ὅς, ὡς ὁρᾷς, καταγελᾷ*.

12. **ἀποφανεῖν**: Dind. for *ἀποφαίνειν*. — **ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις**: Fr. Sbdt. ex codd. for *σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις*. — **ἦν . . . ἐπίῃ**: Fr. Sbdt. for *εἰ . . . ἐπήει*. — **μὴ τοῦτον**: Fr. Sbdt. ex codd. for *τοῦτον μή*. — **κελεύεις**: with four of the best Mss. for *θέλεις*. — **χρυσοποιιῶν**: with 𝔄 Urb. for *χρυσοποιῶν*. See *Harv. Stud.* XII, 184. Cf. the compounds *σκευοποιία*, *λογοποιία*, *κωμῳδοποιία*. In the Reitz. edition the vulg. *χρυσοποιῶν* was considered c o r r u p t a, the cure suggested being *χρυσοχόων*. But *χρυσοχοΐα* was in use, while we do not find the compounds of *χαλκός* and *ποιέω* but *χαλκουργός* and *χαλκουργία*, and, per contra, while we find *χρυσουργός* we do not find *χρυσουργία*.

14. **παρῳδεῖς**: omit *ἤδη* with A Ω 𝔄 Γ C. — **Κλωθοῦς· γεννικῶς καὶ'**: Cob. for Κλωθοῦς *γεννικῆς καί*, cf. Fr. ad loc.

15. **διατρίβην**: cf. *Icar.* 16; Sbdt. with 𝔄 Urb. *τύρβην*. — **ἄγνοιαι** and **ἄγνοια**: for *ἄνοιαι* etc. See Sbdt. *adn. crit.* p. lix.

16. **ἐκείνῳ**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *ἐκεῖνον*. — **τούτῳ**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *τοῦτον*. — **κείσεται**: Sbdt. emends to *πεσεῖται*, but see *Harv. Stud.* XII, 184.

17. **εἰς**: A Ω Γ C for *ἐς*. — **ὁ ἄθλιος**: A Ω 𝔄 Urb. Γ omit *ὁ*. Sbdt. retains *ὁ* here and in § 14. Fr. reads *αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲ* (from Mss.) *δειπνήσει* (by conjecture).

19. **αἳ μέν τινες**: Fr. Sbdt. ex codd. for *τινὲς μέν*. — **ἄλλων**: omit *αὗται* with B 𝔄 Urb.

20. **αὐτὸν μέν**: for *τὸν μέν*. See Fr. and Sbdt. *Lucianea* 159.

22. **ἐστι**: with 𝔄 Γ for *εἰσι*. — **ἔπασχες**: Lehm. by conjecture for *ἔπασχον* of all Mss. Hermes, not Charon, is unmistakably referred to, as *κατάγειν* and *ἀνάγειν* (not *ἀπάγειν*, which Fr. adopts) of the context prove; for a similar confusion cf. note on § 24, *νεκροστολῶν*. See *Harv. Stud.* XII, 184.

24. **αἵματι**: A Ω 𝔄 Urb. Γ have *ὀνόματι*. — **εἰς**: with Mss. for *ἐς*. — **ὠνάμην**: Sbdt. with four Mss. omits *δέ*. — **ἐπιτύμβια**: for *ἑκατόμβαι*. Editt. omit or bracket as a gloss *βασιλεῖς . . . μάχαι* (*πράγματα* being changed into *περὶ* by Sbdt.); this ignores the climax of the dialogue. *ἑκατόμβαι* is the only intrusive element, and if we may substitute *ἐπιτύμβια* or possibly (*αἱ*) *ἐπιτύμβιοι* (sc. *χοαί*), see *Harv. Stud.*

XII, 185, we have the fitting résumé — retaining, of course, *μάχαι*, which is a clear allusion to § 24 and strangely omitted by Fritzsche. The suggestion for this proposed emendation is found in the Reitz-Hemsterhuis commentary: quum hecatombae in hoc dialogo nusquam memoratae sint, Hemsterhusius voce *ἑκατόμβαι*, pro qua Solanus *τύμβοι* exspectarat, vel maxime offensus est. Sbdt.'s ingenious change of the abbreviation of *πράγματα* to *περί* is the only excuse for mutilating the Ms. reading, but Lucian in two other passages (see notes on text) uses the phrase of Aristophanes, omitting, as he does here, the *περί*.

VERA HISTORIA B

1. **ἀπενενεκροῦτο**: *ἀπονενέκρωτο* Mut.; *ἀπονενεκροῦτο* 𝔄 (or *ἀπενεκροῦτο*, see Sbdt. vol. II, p. 213 but cf. p. 317. Note: 𝔄 has also in next line *ἐνοήσαμεν* for *ἐνενοήσαμεν*). Although the plpf. is suggested by *τέλεον*, the clause below, *τῇ δ' . . . ἐτεθνήκει*, suggests the imperfect here. The double compound *ἀπεννεκρῶ* is in accord with Lucian's style (e.g. *προυπεξορμῶ* *D. Mort.* 27; cf. also Chabert's list, p. 123 ff.) and explains the divergent readings. Plutarch (2, 792 B) uses *ἐννεκροῦμαι*.

2. **νησομαχίας**: Sbdt. by conjecture for *ναυμαχίας*, from *V. H.* A 42.

3. **ἐνῳκοδόμητο**: Gündel for *ἀνῳκοδόμητο* (*Philologisch-histor. Beiträge*, Leipzig, 1897). — **ἡμῖν καὶ σιτίον ἡ γῆ**: Ω 𝔄 Γ for *ἡ γῆ καὶ σιτίον*.

4. **αὐτῶν**: Sbdt. for *αὑτῶν*.

5. **ἐπᾳδόντων**: Rohde and others by conjecture (see Sbdt.) for *ἐπαινούντων*. Perhaps *πινόντων*, cf. *D. Mar.* 5, 1, which passage, however, equally supports *ἐπᾴδω*.

6. **προσαγορευομένων**: 𝔄, Sbdt. for *προσαγορευομένη*.

10. **οὗτος δέ**: Mss. Jac. with 𝔄 *οὗτος δή*. — **πολὺν χρόνον**: see Sbdt. *adn. crit.* Mss. have *ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον*.

11. **αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις**: Γ, Dind. for *αὕτη ἡ πόλις*. — **ἐν αὐτοῖς**: 𝔄. Mut. Ω Γ omit *ἐν*.

12. **ἀναφεῖς**: *διαφανεῖς* (Rohde's conjecture, accepted by Sbdt.) does not suit *εἰ μὴ ἅψαιτο κτλ.* below and *ἀφανεις* (with *σ* and *φ* written above) of Γ[1] might point to *ἀσαφεῖς*. Cf. *Pisc.* 16 *ἡ ἀμυδρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφὴς τὸ χρῶμα ἡ ἀλήθειά ἐστιν*. Plato's *ἀναφὴς οὐσία* (*Phaedr.* 247) lends support to text. rec. — **μόνην**: 𝔄 Mut. omit *ἔχουσι καί* of other Mss.

13. **δωδεκαφόροι εἰσί**: for accent see Chandler, *Greek Accent* 525.

15. **πᾶσα ἡ ὕλη**: Ω Γ Mut.

17. **Νομᾶν**: Ω 𝔄 Γ A for *νουμᾶν*. — **αὐτός**: Sbdt. omits *καί*. Cf. *καθ' αὑτόν* of Γ. — **ὑφ' αὑτοῦ**: *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* Mss.

20. **ἐγγεγραμμένοι**: Ω omits *ἐγ-*. So J. J. Hartman, claiming that *ἐγ-* would be prefixed only if reference were made to interpolation by others. — **ἑώρα**: Cob. and Sbdt. emend to *ἑώρων*.

22. **ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ Θανατούσια**: Ω. Jac. *ὁ ἀγὼν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς Θανατούσια*. — **οὐ τίθεται ἆθλα**: Ω 𝔄 Mut.

25. **πολὺν χρόνον**: Ω 𝔄 Mut. omit *ἐπί*, see § 10. — **ἐπιμανῶς**: Γ. Sbdt. for *ἐπινῶς*. — **ἔρωτος καὶ ἀμηχανίας**: various Mss. omit articles. — **παρήμην**: *παρῆν* 𝔄 corr. ex *ἤμην* Γ, so Sbdt. But see Schmid I, 231.

26. **οὐ πολύ**: Ω Γ A Mut. add *οὐ*.

27. **τὴν ἑτέραν**: Sbdt. with Bek. and others emend to *ὑμετέραν*, but see § 47 *τὰ μέχρι τῆς ἑτέρας γῆς*.

30. **πέτραις καὶ τραχῶσι**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *πέτραις τραχέσι*.

31. **διὰ πάντων ἦν**: Ω Γ A Mut. add *ἦν*.

32. **ἔπασχε**: 𝔄 Γ Mut.; *εἶχεν* A, Jac. — **τοῖς ὀνείροις τι**: 𝔄 Mut. — **Ὕπνου**: J. J. Hartman and Lehmann for *Ὕπνον*.

36. **ἐπελέξατο**: vulg. *ὑπεδέξατο*. Sbdt., from Mut., *ὑπελέξατο*, also de Soul by conjecture. — **ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ**: Cob. declares dat. a solecism and emends to *ἐπὶ ξένια*. Ω Γ A *ξενία*, Mut. *ξενίαι*. — **ἐπὶ ναῦν**: 𝔄 Γ Mut. omit *τήν*. Cf. § 47 *ἐπὶ ναῦν κατελθόντες*.

41. **παραδοξότατον· ὁ γάρ**: Ω Mut. omit *γάρ*.

42. **ἐπεσκόπουν**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *ἀπεσκόπουν*. — **ἐπεισῆλθέ με**: with Ω Γ. *εἰσῆλθέ με* Mut. Sbdt.; vulg. omits *με*.

43. **καταθέντες**: Cob. conjectures *καθέντες*. — **οὐ ῥᾳδίως**: Ω 𝔄 Γ A Mut. omit *οὐ*, but the comic gravity of the context seems to demand the negative.

44. **ἰχθύες**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *ἰχθῦς*. — **συνεπεφύκεσαν**: Ω 𝔄 Mut.; vulg. *συνεπεφύκεισαν*.

46. **Καβαλοῦσα**: with Ω 𝔄 A Mut. only one *β*. — **τ' αὐτήν**: Dind. Bek. Sbdt. from *τε ταύτην*.

47. **μετὰ ταῦτα**: 𝔄 Mut. (Γ in rasura), Reitz. Sbdt.; vulg. *μετ' αὐτά*.

VITARUM AUCTIO

1. **ἔχει**: Ψ 𝔄 Γ for *ἔχοι*.

2. **ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΗΣ**: cf. Menand. *Φάνιον* 2. Fr. has *ὠνητής* here and in ff.

3. **φέρε δή**: with Ω Ψ, and see Sbdt. *addend.* vol. I, pt. II, p. 283.

4. **τέσσερα**: Sbdt. for *τέσσαρα*.

5. **καὶ ἄλλον ὀρεόμενον καὶ ἄλλον**: the Mss. omit one *καί* or the other; the context seems to require both. — **ταῦτα**: Sbdt. vol. I, pt. II, p. 283; *τάδε* Mss.

6. **ποῖος**: Dind.; *ὁποῖος* Mss. — **ἐμψυχήιον**: Ψ Φ and Fr. — **αἷμα**: *δέ* omitted with Ω Ψ 𝔄 Γ.

9. **ἄγε δή, . . . ἦν**: Fr. for *ἄγε, . . . ἢν δέ*. — **ἢν δὲ μαστιγοῖ σε**: Sbdt. Fr. for *ἢν μαστιγοῖ δέ*.

11. **ἂν ᾖς**: with Ψ Ω Γ for *ἐὰν ᾖς*. — **σκυτοδέψης**: Ω Ψ 𝔄 Γ. *σκυτοδεψός* Jac.

12. **ἀπανταχόθεν**: Fr. for *πανταχόθεν*. Alliterating anaphora of *ἀπάντων* and *ἅπασι*. — **ἐγὼ γάρ**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *ἐγὼ δέ*. — **ἱλαρόν**: Sbdt. reads *φλυαρόν*. But it is contrasted with *τὸ σκυθρωπόν* (used in § 7 of Diogenes). Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2, 7, 12 *ἀντὶ σκυθρωπῶν ἱλαροί*.

13. **πενθῶν**: *πενθεῖν* Ω. *ὃ δέ τινι ἔοικε πενθοῦντι* Ψ.

14. **λέγω δή**: Ψ 𝔄. — **περιχορεύοντα**: see Fr. But *περιχωρέοντα* (*rotate*) of three Mss. is favored by Anax. 6; and cf. *περιχώρησις*, *rotation*, used almost as a technical term. — **συνδιαφερόμενος**: combined from Ψ, *διαφερόμενος* with *συμφερόμενος* written above. So the scholiast, who takes it, however, as meaning *συνδιαμαχόμενος*. Cf. *Harv. Stud.* XII, 186. Helm, *Neue Jahrb.* 1902, p. 195, *διαφερόμενος*, *συμφερόμενος*. — **τί δέ** (bis): ex codd. for *τί δαί*. — **μένουσιν**: ex codd.; *μενοῦσιν* Jac.

17. **διημάρτανον**: Fr. and Sbdt. here assume a lacuna. — **τοῦτο**: the *τί* preceding *τοῦτο* is omitted by Ω Ψ 𝔄 C Γ Φ. — **ἀνηρῆσθαι**: Sbdt. *addend. et corrig.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 283, reads *ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι*. — **τί δέ**: ex codd., see § 14.

18. **βαβαί**: see Chandler, *Greek Accent* 897.

19. **δυσσεβέστερος**: ex codd.; *ἀσεβέστερος* Jac.

20. **σκυτοδέψης**: Ω Γ Φ.

21. **ὅ τι**: Ω 𝔄 Γ Φ. — **καί**: Sbdt. (see *addend. et corrig.*) for *κἄν*.

22. **τί δέ**: ex codd. — **ὁπότερον**: Ω Φ for *ὃ πρότερον*. Sbdt. adds *ἄν*. — **πρὸς Διός**: omit *τοῦ* with Mss. — **ἔρωμαι, εἰ**: Cob. See Fr.

23. **τόκον λήψεται, λήψεται**: second *λήψεται* is omitted in Ω Ψ 𝔄 C Γ Φ A.

24. **κατατοξεύσω**: Cob.; *ἀποτοξεύσω* Mss.

25. **πρὸς Διός**: see on § 22. — **τοῦ θερίζοντος**: six of the best Mss. add *λόγου*. Compare also *Symp.* 23 *θερίζοντα λόγον*, but here *ὁ θερίζων* is personified.

26. **πολλοῦ**: Reitz. for *πολύ*. — **τί δέ**: ex codd., cf. § 14. — **ὄνος δέ οὐ γελαστικὸν**: Fr. and Dind. assume a lacuna, and Fr. assumes another after *πλωιζόμενον*. This retards the paronomasia in *ὄνος . . . ὀνησιφόρα*. — **τῶν εἴκοσιν**: Cob. for *εἴκοσιν*.

27. **ὑπορρέουσιν**: Sbdt.'s emendation to *ὑπεκρέουσιν* (based on A, *ὑπερρέουσιν*) is tempting. — **τί δέ**: Mss., see above.

PISCATOR

1. **ἡμῶν ὅντινα**: Fr. ex codd. for *ὅντινα ὑμῶν*.

2. **καθ' ἕκαστον γοῦν ἑπτάκις δίκαιος**: Bek. ex codd., but see Fr. The intervening *σε* and *αὐτόν* seem to exclude the neut. *δίκαιον* of several Mss. — **ἵνα καί**: Ω Ψ A. If the reading *ἵν' ἂν καί* is retained see GMT. 335. — **ἀπηλάττετο**: the *καί* following is omitted by five of the best Mss. and marked *κα̣ί̣* in A.

4. **Ἅιδην**: with five Mss. for *Αἰδωνέα*.

5. **ποιεῖτε**: Sbdt. and Fr. change to subjv. with 𝔄 Γ Urb.

6. **ἕκαστον**: some Mss. and Jac. have nom.

7. **ἐναντιώτατον δ' οὖν**: Fr.; *γοῦν* Mss.

9. **ἀπολογήσεσθαι**: Sbdt. with one Ms.; the others have aor.

10. **δικάζεσθαι**: Fr., with Mss.; A B C and Jac. omit.

12. **δὲ ἤ**: Fr. adds *ἤ*. — **σκυθρωπῶν**: Sbdt. brackets; Ψ B C A omit. — **χρυσᾶ**: Γ Φ A. — **ἐπὶ πόδα**: Cob. for *ἐπὶ πόδας*.

13. **πλὴν ἀλλ'**: five Mss. — **τοῦτο γάρ**: Fr. and six Mss. add *γάρ*. — **τὴν κόσμιον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος**: Mss.; Jac. inserts a comma after *κόσμιον*, in

that case see Introd. 30; see Fr. for omission of second τήν. — **συννοίας**: Sbdt. ex codd.

15. **σοι ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ**: Sbdt. ex codd.; other codd. and Jac. σοι ἂν δ'.

16. **αὗται**: Sbdt. ex codd.; Jac. αὐταί. — **γὰρ μίαν**: six Mss. omit γάρ, four omit μίαν. Sbdt. reads γάρ τινα.

17. **ἀλλ'**: Sbdt. ex codd. — **ἄν γε σῶσαι**: so Fr. from Ψ B A and construes ὡς above as prep., but ὡς is probably final and the speaker's thought is so deflected by the intermediate words that the verb merges with the conditional clause as if for ὡς . . . σώσωμεν or σῶσαι δυνηθῶμεν, ἐὰν σῶσαι δυνηθῶμεν.

19. **ἔλαττον**: Mss., Sbdt.; Jac. ἐλάττων.

20. **τὸ τοιουτῶδες**: vulg. adds εἶδος, and three Mss. have γένος, a gloss in either case. — **φιλῶ**: of the best Mss. two have φίλου and five φιλῶ. The Aristophanes passage (*Vesp.* 77) might seem to justify here also the etymological abstraction φιλο-, though by stress of composition two of Lucian's three examples lose the final vowel, while in Aristophanes all but one begin with φιλο-.

21. **τὴν θεόν**: Sbdt. from Ω Γ. τῇ θεῷ Jac. — **καί**: Sbdt. from Ω Γ Φ for κἄν.

22. **κατηγορήσειν δοκεῖ**: from Mss., see Sbdt. κατηγορῆσαι ἂν δοκῇ, Jac. — **δίκην; σύ, ὦ Πλάτων**: from six Mss. for δίκην σοῦ, ὦ Πλάτων; — **ἐστιν**: Fr. Sbdt. omit with five Mss.

23. **ὁρᾷς; σὲ μόνον**: with Ω (though without interrogation), and inferred from (ὁρᾷ or) ὅρα σε μόνον of Γ 𝔄 Urb. Φ. For ὁρᾷς; as exclamatory question cf. *Gall.* 18; *Vit. Auct.* 4; *Pisc.* 40.

24. **ἄμεινον γάρ**: Ω Γ Φ. ἄριστον γάρ Jac. Five of best Mss. omit.

25. **τοῖς ἀποσκώπτουσι**: Ω Γ, and see Fr.

26. **ἀγορεύει**: four Mss. διαγορεύει vulg. For κακῶς ἠγόρευον cf. § 29 and § 37. — **ἐφιείσης**: Ω 𝔄 Urb. Γ. ἐπιούσης vulg. Perhaps ἐπούσης? — **ἄν τι**: with Ψ 𝔄 Urb. C A. ἄν τινα vulg. — **ὑπὸ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα**: Sbdt. [ὑπό]; cf. § 33 τὸν Δία ὑποδεδυκώς.

27. **ἀλλ'**: Sbdt. from Mss. — **ἔσχατα**: Cob. and Mss.; αἴσχιστα Jac.

28. **καὶ ὁπόσα**: Sbdt. (vol. I, pt. II, p. 283) from 𝔄 Urb. Ω. — **ἅπαντα**: Sbdt. and Fr. have [ἅπαντα].

29. **ἢ οὗτος**: with Ψ 𝔄 Urb. B C A. ἢ αὐτὸς οὗτος vulg.; **αἰτιάσαισθε**: Dind.; αἰτιάσεσθαι Jac. and Schmid. — **καλά**: [καλά] Jac. and Sbdt. B C A omit.

31. **ἀλλὰ . . . πράγματος ἐφιεμένους καί**: with Fr. Ψ 𝔄 Urb. C A omit ἀλλὰ . . . πράγματος. Ω Γ Φ M offer ἐφιεμένους καί. Jac. omits ἐφιεμένους καί.

32. **προσεποιεῖτο**: Brod. by conjecture. μιμεῖτο Jac. Seven of the best Mss. have ἐποιεῖτο, cf. infra § 50 ὁ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην προσποιούμενος.

33. **ὡς αἰσχρόν**: Sbdt. with four Mss. for ὡς καὶ αἰσχρόν.

34. **λαγωῶν**: Epic form, cf. also Aesop *Fab.* 4. λαγῶν Fr. Sbdt. In *Hist. Conscr.* 56, however, Sbdt. retains λαγωοῖς (sic) for λαγῴοις, cf. *Symp.* 38 λαγῷα (λαγῶα Jac.). — **καὶ τὸν ἄκρατον οὐ φέροντες**: Sbdt. omits with A and four of the best Mss. — **δηλαδὴ καταπτύουσι**: omitting γελῶσι and καί with six of the best Mss.

35. ἀπ' οὐκ ὀλίγων: Sbdt. from Mss. for *ἀπὸ πολλῶν*. — **σιωπὴ καὶ μονή**: Fr. by conjecture from *καὶ μόνη* of Ψ. Sbdt. has *σιωπὴ μόνη*.

37. σκαιόν: vulg. inserts here *ἢ τί γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι*, although omitted by five of the eight best Mss. and by A. See Fr. — **φάσκουσι**: vulg. adds *καὶ σκυθρωποί εἰσι*, although omitted by the six Mss. just cited.

38. πάντα: Sbdt. ex codd.; *τὰ πάντα* vulg.

39. τὴν Πτερωτήν: Madvig by conjecture for vulg. *τήν γε πρώτην*.

42. βοτρυδόν: vulg. adds *ἑσμοῦ δίκην*, probably a gloss and omitted by Cob. with A only. [*ἑσμοῦ δίκην*] Sbdt.

45. οἱ ὑπηρέται: three Mss. omit *οἱ*. [*οἱ*] Sbdt., but cf. *ἡ Ἱέρεια* § 21. — **μύρον**: with Ψ 𝔄 Urb. B C A; see Fr. Vulg. adds *καὶ μαχαιρίδιον θυτικόν*. — **ΦΙΛ. Σύ, ὦ Ἀλήθεια**: six of best Mss. omit the *δέ* after *σύ*.

46. τὸ παραλαβόντα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ: with Fr. (except *ἑαυτοῦ* from Ω). — **φιλόσοφον**: Sbdt. from four Mss.; *φιλοσοφίας* vulg. — **ὑποκριτῇ φιλοσοφίας**: six Mss. omit one or both of these words. — **τῷ θαλλῷ στεφόμενος**: with Ω Γ Φ; vulg. prefixes *ὁ*.

48. τὸ δὲ τί: Mss. give *τουτί* or omit. Sbdt. emends to *ἰδού*. — **πολλοῦ**: 𝔄 Urb.; *πολύ* vulg.

51. μὴ ἀποπρίσῃ: Ψ 𝔄 B C A. *ὡς μὴ ἀποπρίσῃ*, vulg. [*ὡς*] Sbdt. *addend. et corrig.* vol. I. pt. II, p. 283. — **ἄφωνοι γὰρ οὗτοί γε**: from Mss., see Sbdt.

52. τὰ παρηγγελμένα: 𝔄 Urb. — **Στοάν; ἢ ἀπό**: Cob. and others. — **ποιησώμεθα**: Ω Ψ 𝔄 Urb. Γ. Jac. assigns to Elenchus *Ἀπὸ . . . ἀρχήν* (Sbdt. assigns to Elenchus *Ποῖ δὲ . . . ἀρχήν*) and the remainder to Parrhesiades, but Parrhesiades (i.e. Lucian), not Elenchus (as in Fr.), must be the last to speak, and the self-interrogation is more dramatic than to assign these words to Elenchus. Cf. *Char.* 3 where Hermes meditatively asks *ἆρ' οὖν ὁ Καύκασος ἐπιτήδειος κτλ.*; and then answers himself, and Fritzsche's apposite citation from *Hermot.* 48 (ΛΥΚ. *Εἶεν. ἐπὶ τίνα δὴ αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἔλθοιμεν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν διοίσει; ἀρξάμενοι δέ κτλ.*) seems conclusive against his own arrangement. — **οἶδ'**: vulg. has *οἶδά γε*. Ψ 𝔄 Urb. B C A omit *γε*.

DIALOGI DEORUM

7

4. καὶ ζυγώσας: Ψ A omit as if a mere repetition of *ἐναρμόσας*.

13

1. ἐπιθέσει: 𝔄 Ω F etc., see Fr. *εἰς ἐπίθεσιν* Cob., Fr., and Sbdt. *ἐπιθήσειν* Jac. and vulg.

2. ἰάσεσθαι: for *ἰάσασθαι* Sbdt. from Schwidop. *ἰάσασθαι* vulg.

19

1. ἴω: should we not read *ἰῶ*? Allinson.

25

1. ἔτι ἔμεινεν: 𝔄, Fr. Sbdt. for vulg. *ἐπέμεινεν*. — **ἀεὶ . . . ἀνάγκη**: *δεῖ . . . ἀνάγκῃ* vulg. Jac. Fr. *δὴ . . . ἀνάγκη* 𝔄, Sbdt.

DIALOGI MARINI

2

2. **πιόντι**: see Fr. [*πιόντι*] Jac. — **ἦν**: Fr. ex codd. for *ἤμην*.

3. **βαθὺν ὕπνον**: Herwerden adds *ὕπνον* with Δ M.

4. **ὅτι τὸ σῴζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπολλύναι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πρόσεστι**: see Fr. for v. ll. and cf. Jebb ad Soph. *Antig.* 720, also Sbdt. *suppl. lect.* vol. I, pt. II, p. 275.

3

1. **ὅποι**: Fr. from 𝔄 for *ὅπου*. — **(ἡ δέ) σοι ποῦ τῆς γῆς**: Sbdt. ex codd. for *ποῦ σοι γῆς*.

2. **ἐκείνην οὖν**: 𝔄 Ω A omit *οὖν*. Sbdt. [*οὖν*].

3. **ξυναναμίγνυσο**: on vulg. *ξυναυλίᾳ μίγνυσο* see Fr.

6

3. **οὐδὲν δεινὸν μὴ πάθῃς**: see Fr. C Ω F read *οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὐ μή*. — **ποιήσω**: Fr. Sbdt. ex codd.; *ἐάσω* Jac.

8

2. **ἔπεσεν**: Fr. conjectures *ἐπήδησεν*, citing Hdt. 1, 24.

12

1. ΘΕΤ. **ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα. ὁ γὰρ Ἀκρίσιος**: from 𝔄. Ω has *ἀκριβῶς*. ΘΕΤ. *ἅπαντα. ὁ γάρ.* Vulg. and Jac. *ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα.* ΘΕΤ. *ὁ Ἀκρίσιος.* Sbdt. has *ἀκριβῶς.* ΘΕΤ. *ὁ γὰρ Ἀκρίσιος.*

14

2. **ἐπὶ κατόπτρου**: omit *τοῦ* with Ω.

15

1. **οἶσθα**: Schmid would read *οἶδας* as above.

DIALOGI MORTUORUM

4

2. **ἀπολάβοιμι**: Jac. and editt. add interrogation, see Fr. — **πλὴν ἀλλ' κτλ.**: Sbdt. brackets all from *πλὴν ἀλλ'* to end. See vol. I, pt. II, p. xliii.

5

1. **εἰ δὲ οἷόν τε**: vulg. add *ἦν* with Ω 𝔄 Γ B A Ψ. See Sbdt. *adn. crit.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. xliii.

2. **ὄντες . . . πολλά**: *ὄντες· πολλὰ κτλ.* Jac. Sbdt. reads *ἀλλὰ* for *πολλά*. — **ἐπελπίζει**: see Fr. *ἐλπίζει* Jac. — **ἀσθενοῦντι**: *ἀεὶ θανόντι* Jac.; see Sbdt. *adn. crit.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. xliv.

18

2. **χροιάν**: ex codd. Fr. Sbdt.

21

1. **προσίεσθαι . . . ἑκών**: 𝔄 (except *καί*). See Fr. ad loc. **οὐ** *πάνυ δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον δοκῶν* Jac.

22

2. **ὠνάμην**: if *ὀναίμην* is retained from Ω Γ A tr. *I hope I may prosper.* Perhaps read *ὀναίμην ἄν*. — **πρὸς τὰ πορθμεῖα**: Sbdt. ex codd.; *πρὸς πορθμέα* Jac.

3. **ὁποῖον**: Sbdt. ex codd.; *οἷον* 𝔄; *ὅντινα* Γ Ψ A Ω and Jac. — **οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μέλει**: Ω Γ A; *κοὐδενὸς κτλ.* P; Ψ Φ omit.

30

3. **ἀπολαύσεις**: Fr. emends to *ἀπέλαυσας*. This is unnecessary; tr. the following *διότι* (Sbdt. emends to *ὅτι*) *because.*

PEREGRINUS

Some of the Mss. in the critical edition of Levi are indicated differently from above, i.e.

F	Guelfybertanus primus	P_1 I	Palat. 73 prima manus
V_1	Vatic. 90 (Γ above)	P_1 II	" " secunda manus
V_1 I	" " prima manus	P_1 III	" " tertia manus
V_1 II	" " secunda manus	V_2	Vatic. 87 (𝔄 above)
V_1 III	" " tertia manus	P_2	Palat. 174
P_1	Palat. 73 (not the same as P above)	V_3	Vatic. 89
		Ω	Marc. 434 ϒ Marc. 435

3. **πράγματος**: all Mss. *δράματος* Jac., see Levi, p. 14. — **ἀνιῶν**: Sbdt. Mss. give *αὐτῶν*. Jac. has *ἀλύων*, an inappropriate word. If Levi's objection (vide ad loc.) to *ἀνιῶν* is well taken, read *διιῶν* and cf. Ar. *Ach.* 845, Allinson.

4. **τὸν αὐτῷ ἀνταγωνίσασθαι**: V_1 P_1 P_2 Ω ϒ. *τὸν ἀνταγωνίσασθαι καὶ αὐτῷ* F and vulg. — **Ἀσκληπιὸς**: Mss. add *καὶ Διόνυσος*. See Levi, pp. 15 f.

5. **Ὀλυμπίασι**: cf. Paus. 5, 20, 2; 6, 1, 1; 6, 4, 5; and Hdt. 6, 103 uses the sing. dat. of *Ὀλυμπιάς*. — **Σωκράτην**: P_1. Vulg. *Σωκράτη*. "*Σωκράτην* accusativo tantum non semper usus est Lucianus," Levi. — **κατέπαυε**: Levi with all Mss. Jac. and vulg. *κατέπαυσε*.

7. **ἱερείοις**: Fr. reads *ἱεροῖς*, cf. *Il.* 21, 775 *ἱεροῖσι*. — **αὐτοῦ**: Bek. and Fr. for *αὐτοῦ*.

10. **ἄλλοτε ἄλλην**: V_1 P_1 V_2 P_2 Ω ϒ. Transposed in F and editt.

11. **καὶ αὐτός**: V_2 P_2 and previously, by conjecture, Cob.; Jac. has *αὐτὸς καί*. — **ἐπεγράφοντο**: Fr. Cf. *Scytha* 10 *ἐπέγραφον* Mss. — **τὸν μέγαν . . . βίον**: erased in V_2. — **τὸν μέγαν**: Gesner's *μάγον* is tempting, but seems to make *ἄνθρωπον* superfluous. See Reitz. — **ταύτην**: F Ω ϒ and editt.; other Mss. *ταῦτα*. Perhaps *ταύτῃ in this way*, i.e. *by death on the cross.* Levi *ἐνταῦθα*, i.e. *in Palestine.* — **εἰσῆγεν**: Levi "cum libris fere omnibus scribendum." Vulg. *εἰσήγαγεν*.

12. **διαφθείραντες**: V_1 P_1 V_2 P_2 Ω ϒ and, by conjecture, Lehm. Fr. *διαφθείροντες* F and editt.

13. **τὸ τάχος**: Mss., vulg. *πάθος* V_2 P_2 and Levi. — **ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδάν**: Levi, see pp. 16–17, assumes a lacuna after *ἀλλήλων*. — **ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτόν**: Ω ϒ

omit ἐκεῖνον. P_1 Ω have αὐτόν. Other Mss. and editt. have αὐτῶν. Fr. conjectures ἀντ' αὐτῶν.

15. **ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἦν**: F omits ἦν, see Levi, p. 15. — **ὅλος**: with Ω Υ for ὅλως.

16. **ἀπαιτεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν**: V_1 V_2 P_1 P_2 Υ. In vulg. ἀπαιτεῖν has third place.

17. **διησκεῖτο**: V_1 P_1 Ω M for vulg. διήσκητο.

18. **τέχνην τινὰ**: Levi with all Mss. Fr. Jac. etc. omit τινά.

19. **εὕρετο**: V_1 Ω Υ. Other Mss. and vulg. εὗρε τό.

20. **πρὸς αὑτόν**: Fr. for πρὸς αὐτόν.

21. **δεῖν**: Fr. by conjecture. Mss. δεῖ.

24. **δυνατὸν ἔστω**: with most Mss. Levi with P_1 II reads δυνατὸν ἔσται, urging (see p. 11) that the imv. is redundant with δυνατόν. — **αὐτόν ζηλώσειεν**: Fr. for αὐτοῦ ζηλώσειεν. — **ἂν μόνων**: Levi with V_1 V_2 P_1 P_2 Ω Υ. Vulg. has ἄν in second place.

25. **οὐκ ἐνόν**: see Levi for the conjecture, from various readings, of ὂν καινόν. — **κἂν ἐκείνους**: Sbdt., following Fr., emends to κἂν Ἰνδούς. — **οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐλπίδος**: Fr. conjectured οὐδ' for οὐκ of the Mss. οὐκ seems bald, but is, perhaps, reinforced by οὐ κατ' ἐλπίδος of V_2.

26. **κακὸς κακῶς**: the Mss. give only the one or the other of these words. Fr. retains both. See Fr. for citation of parallels, and Thayer's N.T. Lex. s.v. κακῶς.

27. **χρεών**: with Levi for χρεὼν εἶναι. Bek. conjectures χρεὼν εἴη.

28. **ἐν πολλοῖς**: V_1 V_2 P Ω Υ, Fr. by conjecture, for ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς. — **συστήσεσθαι**: V_1 V_2 Ω Υ, Cob. previously by conjecture, for στήσεσθαι.

32. **ἑαυτοῦ**: V_1 V_2 P Ω Υ for αὐτοῦ. — **θανατῶντι**: Cobet's conjecture for θανατιῶντι, now confirmed by P_2. — **τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ**: Allinson conjectures second τόν. F Υ have τὸν ἐπιτάφιον αὐτοῦ, other Mss. and editt. have τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἑαυτοῦ. Levi transposes to attributive position, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιτάφιον.

33. **ἐκεκράγεσαν**: P_1, Dind., for ἐκεκράγεισαν. — **τὸ δὲ Τέλει**: δέ from P_1 II for δεῖ or δή of the other Mss. Τέλει Fr.'s conjecture for τελεῖν of all Mss.

34. **ἐχομένοις**: Herwerden makes the ingenious but unnecessary emendation ἑλκομένοις. The apparent zeugma with the verb of motion, ἕπονται, is sufficiently accounted for by ἀπαγομένοις. The late-comers, moreover, are still arriving. One would like to add ἤδη. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 439 E νεκροὺς παρὰ τῷ δημίῳ κειμένους.

35. **ἐπιδείξασθαι**: Fritzsche's preference for the future (accepted by Levi) and the change ἐς νύκτα τὴν τελευταίαν seem unnecessary if we may construe ἀναβαλλόμενος absolutely, and tr. *he had at last appointed a night for his show.* — **ἐν βόθρῳ**: Fr.; a certain emendation for ἐν βάθει of all Mss. Fr. cites § 25 (end). Add *Char.* 22 βόθρον τινὰ ὀρύξαντες.

36. **ἀνέτελλεν**: the impf. (of most Mss.) gives good sense, if not better than the aorist of V_2 accepted by Levi. — **τοῦτο τῶν πρὸς**: P_1 II, V_2 V_2, Fr. by conjecture, for τοῦτο τὸ πρός.

37. **γέροντα**: Mss. except F, which has γερόντιον, the more picturesque reading — adopted by editt.

39. **ἀπιοῦσιν**: Levi accepts the easier *ἐπιοῦσιν* from P_1 III. It is, perhaps, like the difference between *hin* and *her* in German. In § 35 *ἀπῄειν* and *ἀπιόντων* are more natural. — **ἐπιβήσεται**: with V_1 P_1 (Levi) and Ω (Sbdt., *Lucianea*, p. 125) for *ἐπιβήσεσθαι* of other Mss. — **ἀνθρωπίνως**: Fr. for *ἀνθρωπίνῃ* of the Mss. In the passage cited by Fr., however, *Gall.* 2, the common reading is *ἀνθρωπικῶς*. — **ἀνέκρινόν με**: F and the editt. add *λέγοντες*, the other Mss. omit.

40. **καταγελῶντα**: Mss.; F *καταγελῶν τα*. Fr., quem vide for discussion, emends to *καταγέλωτα*, and Levi accepts: "optime Fritzschius." But we require the active force, "deriding." One might feel that the future partic. would be better when said of the vulture, and so be tempted to write with F *καταγελῶν τὰ τῶν*, provided the construction with acc. followed by *ὡς* in Eur. *Bacch.* 286 is sufficient support.

41. **ἐπάσεσθαι**: conjectured by Wyttenbach for vulg. *ἐπαγαγέσθαι*. See Levi, p. 13. — **ἔλεγεν**: with all Mss. Editt. change to *ἔλεγον*.

42. **ἀλέσθαι**: V_1 P_1 P_2. *ἀλέσθαι* V_2. *ἄλλεσθαι* F and editt.

43. **ἥκων . . . διηγούμην**: V_1 V_2 V_3 Ω Υ. *διηγουμένου* F. *ἧκον . . . διηγουμένου* P_1 and editt. — **τινὰ καὶ αὐτός**: V_1 P_1 V_2 V_3 Ω Υ P_2. *τινά* in third place F and editt. — **ἐπιταραχθείη μέν**: F V_3 P_2 Ω Υ. *ἐπιταραχθείημεν* V_1 P_1 V_2, Bek. and Fr. by conjecture. *ἐπιταραχθεὶς μέν*, other editt. — **ἀγῶνι**: F V_1 P_1 II V_3 Ω Υ V_2 P_2. *ἀγώνι* P_1 I. *ἀγῶνι* with *Αἰγαίῳ* superscribed M. *Αἰγαίῳ* all editt. With *Αἰγαίῳ* the compound *ἐκταράττω* would have suited better than *ἐπιταράττω*. — **ἐγείραντος . . . δὲ κωκύοι**: the Mss. have *ἐγείραντος ἐκώκυε*, P_2 adds *δέ*. A lacuna is generally assumed. Some word like *πνεύματος* or *χειμῶνος* is needed (see notes on text), *δέ* is necessary to correspond with *μέν*, and *κωκύοι* is suggested by the optative above. Perhaps read *ἐγείραντος τοῦ πνεύματος, αὐτὸς δὲ κωκύοι*. The letters from -ΑΝΤΟΣ to ΑΥΤΟΣ could drop out easily, and, *δέ* then seeming wrong, *δεκωκυοι* might have been changed to *ἐκώκυε*. See *Harv. Stud.* XII, 190.

44. **αὐτὸν δέ**: V_2 P_2. Fr. by conjecture in *Quaest. Lucian.* Other Mss. and Jac. *ἑαυτόν*. Fr. edits *αὐτὸς δέ*.

45. **ἀμβλυώττοντας**: Levi with V_2 P_2: "*ἀμβλυώττω* quinquies, *ἀμβλυώπω* numquam a Luciano usurpatum comperimus." Other Mss. and all editt. have *ἀμβλυωποῦντας*. — **ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί**: Fr. adds interrogation. From P_2 Levi also inserts *οὐ* at beginning of clause where P_1 II has *σύ*. — **εἶχεν ἄν**: Levi (see p. 12) inserts *ἄν*. Boldermann, op. cit., p. 144, would omit *καίτοι . . . γέλωτα*; — **ἀκούῃς**: Levi with V_1 P_1 V_2 P_2 V_3 Ω Υ. *ἀκούσῃς* F and editt.

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[References are made as follows: To the General Introduction, pp. i–xlii, by Roman numerals; to the remainder of book by Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3, etc.) for pages, the number of the line (e.g. l. 100) is added for the text, and the left and right columns of the notes to the text are designated by (*a*) and (*b*) respectively.]

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